DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 903	FL 010 740
AUTHOR	Abdulaziz, Mohamed H.; Fox, Melvin J.
TITLE	Evaluation Report on Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching of Eastern Africa.
INSTITUTION	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Sep 78
NOTE	162p.; Parts may be marginally legible
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*African Languages; Bibliographies; Foundation Programs; Information Dissemination; *Language Instruction; *Language Planning; Language Programs; Language Research; *Language Standardization; *Language Usage; *Policy Formation; Sociolinguistics; Summative Evaluation; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	*Africa (East); Ethiopia; Kenya; Tanzania; Uganda; Zambia

ABSTRACT

A survey was conducted from 1967 to 1970 with the following goals: (1) to gather information on the use and teaching of languages in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia; (2) to stimulate research and development in linguistics and language pedagogy in East Africa; (3) to assist in strengthening the resources of East African institutions concerned with language arts and sciences; and (4) to foster close intraregional and international relations among linguists. These goals were met by the preparation of five country studies for publication in monograph form, support of local research and language development projects, scholarships for graduate study in linguistics by East Africans, and the dissemination of information through special publications and regional conferences. This report describes the organization of the project and evaluates the effect of that organization on the success of the project. A number of deficiencies are uncovered, but it is concluded that the project was extremely effective in: (1) improving the level of native training in linguistics, (2) collecting and disseminating information on the language situation in individual countries, and (3) making language planning a major issue for continued consideration at the national and international levels. Appendices include a bibliography and a review of the country studies. (JB)

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ED177903

EVALUATION REPORT

ON

SURVEY OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING OF EASTERN AFRICA

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September 1978

FL010740

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I INTRODUCTION

This report of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (hereafter referred to as the Survey) was commissioned by the Ford Foundation as part of its practice of carrying out a summative evaluation of projects it has funded. Such evaluations have the three-fold purpose of assessing the soundness and timeliness of the project; the extent the goals were achieved or successfully pursued; ways in which execution of the project could have been improved, i.e. the lessons that the Foundation might learn from the project.

There were two distinctive goals of this ambitious and complex project. The Survey was an effort to increase knowledge about the function of languages in five East African countries and to produce separate Country Studies that could serve concrete needs of educational and government planners. It also aimed to obtain data that are indispensable for the development and testing of sociolinguistic concepts and methodologies needed to assess the ways languages function for both individual socialization and national development.

This report tries to illuminate the interrelation of the scholarly and policy-related aspects of the Survey. Thus it has been necessary in designing this review to be aware both of the interest in the Survey of scholars and students concerned with fundamental theoretical and practical questions about the ways in which languages function to affect processes of social interaction and change, as well as of the potential interest of the many governmental and educational administrators who are confronted by pressing practical problems of language choice and use in community and national development.

The carrying out of this evaluation has been subject to several constraints. The seeds produced by the Survey are greatly scattered geographically, institutionally, and intellectually. Therefore the writers have been forced to attempt a panoramic view. Some seeds are just beginning to be sown, and in important respects the germination of many others has barely begun, or is just becoming discernible. With respect to goals that relate to the production of comparative data to help implement language policies in East African countries, it is still too early to assess, or certainly to try to measure, the direct effects of the Survey. Therefore, in terms of practical uses of the Survey in implementation of language policies of the five countries in East Africa, this must be considered a preliminary report.

Language policies in the five countries that comprised the Survey are at different stages: three have national policies, one is in the process of radically reversing the policy of the previous government, and one appears to be rapidly moving toward adoption of a national policy. Thus the national language policies particularly toward the choice of the medium for classroom instruction are highly volatile. However, in general there appears to be a common determination, that typifies most African countries, to give greater prominence in early education to African languages, thus reversing a policy to increase the use of English in education that was being promulgated in Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia at the time of the Survey. The findings of the five Country Studies potentially have a major contribution to make toward implementation of such policies. In the final section the writers have suggested several activities that might facilitate use of the Country Studies for those purposes.

With respect to the contribution of the Survey toward the linguistic sciences particularly descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, few projects have stirred so much critical recognition and comment, or so much direct research output and derivative research follow-up, in many cases before the Volumes were published. This material has been reviewed for this report, and in the process a first effort may be found in Appendix B to compile a comprehensive bibliography relating to the Survey--a bibliography which is an indispensable tool for those students, or planners and administrators, who are concerned with mounting sociolinguistic surveys or studying language planning.

It has been important for the writers, as it is for the readers of this report, to keep in mind critical constraints on the Survey itself: (1) the dates of the origin of the Survey and the historical time-frame in which it was carried out; (2) the socio-cultural setting that surrounded it; (3) the long-term as well as short-term purposes of the project; (4) the embryonic state of the discipline of sociolinguistics, which was just beginning to emerge, largely in the United States, and which had as yet produced few experts in the world; and (5) the length of time it takes to translate ideas and knowledge into action, particularly in educational innovation. The criticisms of the Survey in this report try to take full account of these basic realities.

Finally, it should be stressed that though this evaluation is retrospective, any importance or consequences of the Survey will relate to the future. This report attempts to illuminate ways in which the results of the Survey may serve the future of language development in Eastern Africa and the Conclusion suggests specialized activities that could facilitate that process.

In writing this report the writers had access to the Survey files and records in the Nairobi and New York office of Ford Foundation at the Center for Applied Linguistics, and at the University of California in Los Angeles, as well as related records in other places. In addition they carried out extensive interviews with many of the people directly involved in the Survey to whom the writers would like to acknowledge their indebtedness. This report could not have been completed without sustained support of the Ford Foundation, particularly its Representative for Eastern and Southern Africa, David R. Smock.

II SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE EMERGENCE OF LANGUAGE POLICIES

Introduction

The Survey was being planned and carried out during the initial post-independence period in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. Of the many factors decisively affecting the capacity of the new governments to mount social, political, and economic structures that were essential to the building of self-governing nations, language was probably the most complex. (The kingdom of Ethiopia so differed with respect to its form of government, its history, socio-political setting and other factors affecting language, that it is treated separately at the end of this section.) The new governments had to face pressures from all levels of which the most pervasive came from:

> "the problems of accommodating their multi-ethnic and multi-lingual components within a single political framework. One aspect of this preoccupation (was) the formulation of specific language policies which attempt to reconcile the importance of the acquired metropolitan language during the period of Colonial rule with postindependence aspirations." 1

The leaders of the new governments were aware of the urgent need to bridge the divisive effects of the many languages passionately adhered to by the different groups in their countries (Uganda broadcast radio programs in 20 languages).

> "Anyone who has worked on a local language committee knows how tenaciously people cling to unworkable, impractical orthographies because they feel somehow that to tamper with the spelling is to tamper with the language."2

The difficulties they faced were representative of other multilingual countries in Africa and other parts of the developing world, and therefore provided a laboratory (a) to observe the relation of language to modernization and more particularly the linguistic, cultural, social, political, economic, and educational factors that affected the emergence of national policies governing

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[1] Language and Social Change, W.H. Whiteley, Ed., Oxford University Press, and International African Institute, 1971.

[2] Whiteley in Introduction to Language in Kenya, Oxford University Press, 1974.

language usage; and (b) to identify approaches to usage, or to understanding usage, that could facilitate the(potentially conflicting) purposes of raising consciousness about the African heritage while facilitating independent nation-building and modernization, and trying to meet the exaggerated expectations of the average citizen that independence would bring immediate benefits.

The task of the policy-maker was made complicated by the fact that no single element was decisive in determining the way(s) in which language affected development. Language problems resulted from day-to-day interactions of many factors, each with deep roots historically, socially, and in terms of the cultural heritage and the sense of identity of individuals. A grave difficulty that faced government administrators and educators in finding socially and politically acceptable answers to (c) above was the lack of demographic, linguistic, and other data needed for either determining or implementing language policies. One important goal in undertaking the Survey was to establish basic facts about who speaks what language to whom in what situations for what purposes; or put in somewhat more scholarly terms, "to identify, describe, and explain those systematic differences in the use of language that accompany differences in which the language is employed."[3]

An attempt will be made herein, as a backdrop for this report, to give a brief summary of some major factors in the social, political, cultural, and linguistic setting that affected emergence of language policies at the time the Survey was being planned and carried out.

The African Language Base

Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia were characterized by extreme language diversity that fragmented the population in each of the countries into multiple linguistic-ethnic groups, that tended to accentuate and perpetuate their differences. Few languages had more than 1 million speakers (an exception being

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3. Language in Ethiopia, Bender, Bowen, Cooper, Ferguson Eds.; Oxford University Press, 1976.

Kikuyu in Kenya with somewhat over 2 million). Additionally many languages had such wide dialectal variation as to be relatively non-communicable.[4] In the case of Tanzania two-thirds of the approximately 100 languages used by the population of 13 million had from 10,000 to 100,000 speakers. The majority of languages in all four countries were part of the relatively intercommunicable Bantu family; but many that were either Cushitic or Nilotic in origin were as mutually different structurally and orthographically as Chinese or Arabic is from English.[5] Two factors that tended to reinforce this language and dialect fragmentation, were (a) the passionate attachment people had to their language, dialect, or traditional orthographies, and (b) the deep antipathies of Africans toward the languages of both powerful dominant groups, such as the Kingdom of Buganda in Uganda, or the languages of large, dynamic groups, such as the Kikuyu in Kenya, as well as the disdain of members of major language groups toward the speakers of the many smaller language communities. Speaking of Zambia, a prominent government leader wrote:

> "On political grounds alone, it is clearly impossible to adopt any one of the official vernaculars as a medium of instruction in primary schools without exciting tribal passions and creating serious discontent and unrest. In making tactful inquiries, the author had heard confessions from even the most extremist tribal adherents that an imposition of their own language on the rest of the country would be disasterous."6

This language separatism created grave barriers to communication, between central government and the citizens, as well as to communication across ethnic and sectional boundaries, that is indispensable to nation building. It also posed difficulties for the delivery of educational and essential social services, for governmental management at both national and local levels, for economic and social development, and for inter-African communication.

4."Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture", M.H. Abdulaziz in Whiteley, 1971 op. cit.

5. Language in Uganda, Ladefoged, Glick, Criper, Oxford University Press, 1971.

6. The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence, J.M. Mwanakatwe, Oxford University Press, 1968.

This fragmentation was not a new problem at independence. The need to overcome or counteract it was a controlling factor in the policies established by the colonial powers (Germany and England in Tanganyika, and England in Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia), and of the Christian Churches, to encourage use of Swahili of English or both as a lingua franca. The pressures of accelerating urbanization, particularly in Kenya and Zambia, and the presence in the cities of Indian communities speaking a variety of languages of the Asian sub-continent, added a special set of complexities as well as additional need and pressure for a lingua franca. It is of interest to note the fact that only a small percentage of women had command of a lingua franca in contrast to men,[7] which set up a further serious fragmentation, and delayed the participation of women in nation-building responsibility beyond the local level.

A not insignificant result of language fragmentation, with profound implications for African intellectual growth, is that the writing of African literature, as distinct from the literature of particular groups, required a lingua franca. Referring to his own country of Nigeria,Chinua Achebe has written the"...national literature...is the literature written in English and the ethnic literatures are in Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, Effic(sic) Edo Ijaw..."[8] When one is reminded of the temporary revulsion felt by James Baldwin toward Shakespeare because the latter exemplified the extent that Baldwin as an American writer "was condemned to being a native user of English,"[9] one can appreciate the extent that the profound tensions and ambivalence that attach in Africa at times to the indispensable use of the language of the former colonial power have affected language development.

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7. "Church, State, and Marketplace in the Spread of Kiswahili: Comparative Educational Implications", A.A. Mazrui and P. Zirimu, in Case Studies in Bilingual Education, Spolsky and Cooper, Eds., Newbury House, 1978.
8. The Political Sociology of the English Language, A.A. Mazrui, Mouton, 1975.
9. Mazrui, op. cit.

The Colonial Heritage

With language as with most other facets of independence African governments were deeply conflicted about their colonial heritage. Their difficulties in formulating clear-cut policies that broke with the past or, as in the case on Tanzania in establishing an African lingua france as a national medium, were due to the continued indispensability of English. Even in Tanzania, where Swahili was officially proclaimed at the outset as the language of the new state and of the newly formulated African socialism it promulgated, English has remained

> "the medium of instruction in post-primary education, in the high court, as the language of technical discourse, and in anything most clearly associated with upward mobility"[10]; and it remains "the mark of membership in a wider political and economic unit than the State"...and "the dominant language of the elite."[11]

For this reason to sustain the status of Swahili as the national language has required continuous exhortation by the Tanzanian government that it is the right language to use because it is African, that it is the language of independence, that it is not the language of Colonialism, that it is the language of the people.[12] Though use of Swahili as a lingua franca was stressed early by most Christian missionaries who had exclusive responsibility for primary education before independence, English was the only medium through which one could continue education beyond the primary level. Also as the language of government in Uganda, Kenya, and Zambia, English became the principal instrumental language for upper mobility of individuals as well as for certain purposes indispensable for nation-building.

Swahili (from the plural of the Arabic word, Sahil, for coast) established deep African roots, starting along the East Africa littoral in the Tenth Century,[13] as the language of both Islam and traders. Despite the early evidence of spoken Swahili, the oldest literary manuscript dates from 1728.[14] In structure and in much of its vocabulary it was a Bantu language and thus closely related to most of the Bantu languages which a majority of the people in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia speak, and through extensive borrowing of words to Arabic out of which the religion of Islam emerged. However, ever since East African countries were colonized, its use was marked by controversy and conflict. In spite of expanding use for ten centuries it has remained largely a second language. Only in Tanganyika did the government give it sanction and take active steps as host to the East African Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee (Subsequently named the East African Swahili Committee),established in 1930 in response to a three-country agreement on the need for a lingua franca, to standardize Swahili and to build up its corpus for modern use.

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[10] W.H. Whiteley in Can Language be Planned, Ed. Rubin and Jernudd, University Press of Hawaii, 1971.

[11] Swahili-The Rise of a National Language, W.H. Whiteley, Metheun, 1969.

[12] The Language Problems of Africa, a Bibliography (1946-67) ; Angela Molnos, Information circular 2, East African Research Information Centre, 1969

[13] Whiteley, in Swahili, 1969 op. cit. Also "The Earliest Attestation of Swahili," Edgar C. Polome in Language in Tanzania, unpublished.

[14] "The Development of Language Policy in Tanzania." Ann Bromfit, Language in Tantania, op.cit.

It was partly due to work on the corpus of the language by this colonial-sponsored language planning body that Swahili became the language of political development and independence in Tanzania and Kenya. It was deeply and powerfully African in its linguistic and historical roots; it could serve as a means of communication with most East Africans; it thus was the only language suited for use as the language both for political party development and political campaigning. As a result Swahili has expanded its corpus of political terminology more than any language in Eastern Africa. "Without the presence of this powerful medium the present egalitarian policies of socialism and self-reliance would have been difficult to implement (in Tanzania) in so short a time."[15]

English, on the other hand, was a divisive factor. It set the English educated elite apart. The elitism fostered through it was held under strong suspicion by Moslems. "...The fact that in Africa south of the Sahara (the) new forces of modernity came riding on Christian horses"[16] stirred deep Moslem animosities. This in turn reinforced the sense of inferiority and defensiveness caused by the identification of English with modernization to the point that it was not uncommon for an African who was addressed by an expatriate in Swahili to respond in English.[17] In 1967 a member of the Survey Council from Kenya told one of the authors of this report that if the cook addressed his eight-year old son in English the boy would respond in Swahili but if the father addressed the boy in Swahili the boy would respond in English.

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[15] "The Ecology of Tanzaian National Language Policy" M.H. Abdulaziz in Language in Tanzania ,op.cit.

[16] Mazrui in Whiteley, 1971, op.cit.

Aside from its colonial heritage and the elitism related thereto, English developed a peculiarly African stigma. The pan-Africanism launched by Nkrumah in the early 1960's, and the international dialogues in the 1950's that laid the foundations for it, were carried out in English. The new independent African governments were as concerned about the spreading through English of what they considered radical doctrines of Nkrumahism as Lugard was that "the premature teaching of English inevitably leads to utter disrespect for British and native ideals alike, and to a denationalized and disorganized population."[18]

The uncertain and conflicted language heritage left by the former colonial rulers was exacerbated by two factors confronting the new governments. (1) The new independent governments were faced with the well-nigh impossible task of ordering priorities, drafting budgets, and allocating resources so as to offer greater equity, and access to the benefits of Uhuru to citizens, while at the same time meeting the complex and costly technological requirements for modernization.[19] (2) "The performance of (new) Governments was expected to surpass the efforts of previous colonial governments...it was the responsibility of governments to find the wherewithal to do this."[20] These were relatively impossible tasks, as the Colonial powers learned, without both Swahili and English.

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[17] Molnos, op. cit.

[18] Quoted by Mazrui in Whiteley, 1971, op.cit. The German rulers in Berlin had a related concern that Swahili could unite East Africans against the colonial regime. Bromfit, op.cit.

[19] "Ethnic Inequalities in Kenya", Donald Rothchild, Journal of African Studies, Vol. 7 Number 4, December 1969.

[20] The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence, J.M. Mwanakatwe, Oxford University Press, 1968.

Educational Development

In no area of responsibility of new governments were the conflicts and complexities created by language more marked, or the shortage of trained Africans to deal with them more critical, than in education. It was the aspect of life about which African political leaders made the most unqualified promises, with the result that citizens inevitably developed the expectation that Independence would bring miraculous overnight access to job-securing education for everyone. The policy in all four countries of relegating responsibility for early education to missionaries--until 1964 in Zambia, where at Independence only 1200 had gained Secondary School Certificates![21]--left a legacy of vacillating experimentation with both mother tongues and Swahili as the medium of primary instruction, despite the fact that English persisted as the only medium for advancing beyond primary school. This usually made it necessary for a child, during his primary school experience, to acquire operational use of English, Swahili, and his mother tongue, with the result that though the pupil could meet varied daily family, school, playtime, and work needs, the formal teaching received by the child in each of the languages was so grossly inadequate as to result in lack of effective command for educational purposes of any language.[22]

The use of one or more of the three languages as the medium of instruction posed grave pedagogical, financial, and management problems for governments. There was an inadequate supply of teachers in any of the languages, particularly with the reduction after Independence of the role of the Missions and the exodus of expatriate teachers. The use of mother tongues, as practised by early missionaries for the lower primary grades, and as strongly advocated by many Africans(who were concerned that education sponsored by independent governments should inculcate African rather than British values, history and concepts), tended to reduce mobility in the African teacher corps beyond Standard 4, while at the same time limiting the usefulness of nationals and expatriates, African or otherwise. For many of the languages, there were inadequate orthographies and no teaching materials. Inadequate materials for teachers and pupils, even in Swahili, was pervasive. English was the only language in which there were sequential, relatively up-to-date materials both for training teachers and teaching school children from the upper primary on. Pedagogical questions about the ways, and in what relationship, it was most effective to teach the non-medium languages as subjects were seriously unexplored. How to balance the teaching of languages in the curriculum with the teaching of subjects in different combinations of the triad of languages had been the subject of much discussion but little systematic research. Nor had there been adequate study of the comparative costs of teaching in several languages, despite the massive mortgaging of the future that was entailed in decisions to move in the direction of one language or another as a medium of instruction, or as had been happening in some countries, to swing from one approach to the other[23] and to undertake the necessary changes in the teacher corps, in training materials and methods, in textbooks and learning materials for students. To these factors confronting policy-makers trying to determine the approaches that could meet citizen needs and demands, while at the same time serving national goals, and fitting budgetary limitations, were added the resistance of villagers and rural people, as well as those in cities, to a move away from English as the medium of instruction.[24]

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[21] Mwanakatwe, op.cit.

[22] Mwanakatwe, op.cit.

Tanzania, for both political and linguistic reasons, opted for Swahili as the language of instruction for the primary grades, and proceeded from the day of Independence to try to enforce national acceptance, even appointing a Promoter of Swahili in the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture in 1964,

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23. In Ladefoged, op.cit. it is stated "different agencies of the government appear to have different answers to the problem..there is a conflict between the desire to communicate effectively with all parts of the country, and the need to economize in resources and build national unity."

24. Mazrui and Zirimu in Spolsky and Cooper, op.cit.

and a National Swahili Council in 1967. Kenya followed an opposite approach. Starting experimentally in 1957 in Nairobi with English as the medium from Standard I for a group of Asian schools, and expanding to Africans in Nairobi in 1961, by 1962 all African children in Kenya were offered the choice of pursuing what was called after 1964, the New Primary Approach (N.P.A.):i.e. English as the medium from the 1st Standard, with vernaculars used for story-telling for Standard 1-3 to assure literacy in major mother tongues, and with Swahili compulsory as a subject from Standard 4. The NPA spread so rapidly that by 1966 half of the Standard I classes in the country were using the NPA,[25] and NPA was also beginning to influence the language policies for schools in both Uganda and Zambia.[26] An evaluation carried out by Clifford H. Prator and Marnixius Hutasoit in March 1965[27] at the request of the Kenya Government strongly recommended the continuance and expansion of the NPA on the grounds that English had the following advantage for the realization of national goals (some of which have proven quite questionable): (1) it militated toward elimination of divisions based on race, tribe, religion and economic status, and thereby; (2) it increased access to education for all citizens; (3) it strengthened national unity; (4) it furthered national development goals, including improvement in the standards of living; (5) it encouraged democratic social and political institutions and;(6) it permitted pan-African and international communication. However, Swahili continued with increasing success to battle English on all fronts including Kenya (except for international communication) for reasons given in the Prator-Hutasoit report: its emotional appeal as an African language; the ease with which it is learned by Africans, compared with English due to its structural and lexical relation to all Bantu languages,the many words borrowed from Arabic; its widespread function as a link language in East Africa between both English-speaking and French-speaking countries. Though not mentioned in that report, there are two additional compelling advantages of Swahili over other African languages: (a) more systematic work was being carried forward on the ideological level--i.e. mobilizing awareness and sentiment--and on the technological level--i.e. building up the capability of Swahili to serve modern scientific and technological needs; (b) the continuing intractable rejection by Africans of the languages of other Africans.

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[25] Language in Kenya, op.cit.:"The Development of Language Policy in Kenya with Particular Reference to the Education System.",by T.P. Gorman.

[26] Mwanakatwe; Ladefoged, op.cit.

[27] Non-published report:"A Study of the New Primary Approach in the Schools of Kenya." Prator was director of the Department of English as a second language at the University of California at Los Angeles; Hutasoit was Minister of Education in Indonesia.

Thus the battle that started much earlier in the colonial period was continued, in the post-Independence period, particularly in Kenya, between Swahili and English as the medium of school instruction and a principal language of government and national discourse. The vacillating character of national language usage policies, and the sizeable resultant costs in money and man hours of scarce personnel--or put more graphically in terms of wastage of the minimal pool of expert skills (teachers, supervisors, textbook writers, translators, lexicologists) --is suggested by the rejection in 1978 by the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies of the NPA as a national approach. The report of the Committee, made public in May 1978 after two and one half years of work, recommends (a) that the NPA be confined to those urban centers where the use of English has in fact become widely accepted, and where children have received adequate instruction in English before entering Standard 1 of primary school (b) that the education system in rural areas "should make much better use of the local languages for instruction at the beginning of primary education"...and that (c) "the predominant language spoken in the schools' catchment area (should be the language of instruction) for the first three years of primary education." It also proclaims that "Kiswahili is the national language for Kenya."

Lack of Data

Educational planners and administrators were faced with an array of quite basic questions on which information was either lacking, sketchy, or outdated: the size and dispersion of language communities; comprehensibility between languages; dialect variation within languages; the ways in which language use varied; problems of orthographic standardization; pedagogical questions about using second languages as the medium or teaching them as a subject; the problems of modernizing African languages to deal with new curriculum and of training teachers to teach them; the differential costs for alternative approaches. Decisions on these and other important and urgent issues had to be made in the absence of vital data on demographic, linguistic or pedogogical questions. Nor was there any empirical evidence on such important socio-cultural phenomena as the ways in which trilingualism was eroding inter-generational communication and kinship ties. Additionally, knowledge and skill about how to obtain data on such questions was seriously limited.

Zambia offers an example of how unchartered this terrain was, and the dangers it represented for anyone trying to move across it without some kind of a map. At the time of the Survey there were various interpretations of whether mother tongue meant the language of the mother, the language of the father, or the first language learned by the child. Additionally, since there was little knowledge of the differentiation between dialects in some languages, the reporting on this question in the census of 1969 was seriously inaccurate.[28] Thus, though accurate data was lacking in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, as well as Zambia on the size of the various language groups, language policies were vigorously espoused and pursued with respect to the media, government administration, social services, and education that had serious, long term consequences for national development, for modernization, for the welfare of the citizenry, and for financial solvency of the government.

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[28] "The Language Situation," by Mubanga E. Kashoki in Language in Zambia, International African Institute, 1978.

Ethiopia

Though Ethiopia was similar to the four other countries in the Survey in the lack of data essential for determining and implementing national educational policies, it differed in a number of other respects that are quite basic to the overall purposes of the Survey. There had been no foreign domination or colonial heritage, except for the quite transient Italian episode. The Emperor who ruled during the period of the Survey, was the 225th in a continuous line dating from 1000 B.C. Amharic was historically established by the Government as the national language and in its classical form i.e. Giiz, it had been the language of the Coptic Christian Church from the 5th Century. Amharic is also linked to Arabic through Giiz which "is closest historically and structurally to classical Arabic of all the Semitic languages."[29] In addition to its long tradition as the language of the Government and the Church, Amharic had a rich and massive literature. Amharic is a mother tongue for approximately 20% of the population. However, its use as a second language by a large percentage of Ethiopian and its resultant spread as a national language is the one example, "unique in Africa, of the expansion of an indigenous national language as a principal factor in national integration."[30]

The two major languages, Amharic and Galla, are Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic in origin respectively, and do not therefore relate to the Bantu group of African languages that most people in East Africa speak. The written language, based on Giiz, is different from spoken modern Amharic; thus Amharic presented diglossic difficulties that were not typical of any of the other African languages in East Africa. On the other hand in Amharic there is relatively little of the dialect variation that characterizes many of the principal languages of East Africa, as well as the Galla, second largest spoken language in Ethiopia.

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[29] Language in Ethiopia, op.cit.

[30] Ibid.

The policy of enforced Amharicization was relatively successful under Emperor Haile Selassie I[31] but, as in the case of many aspects of social development in the Kingdom it helped to perpetuate illiteracy that masked explosive socio-economic problems. In their interest to reduce illiteracy and broaden access to education, the leaders under the new revolutionary government of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, which took over in September, 1974, decided to provide lower primary instruction in mother tongue languages. This is the first government to turn to the Survey volume to ascertain the demographic facts for implementing such a policy.

Unlike the other countries in the Survey, English though growing in importance during the period 1950-1970, did not become a vital factor either in national government or in the opportunity for upward mobility among the educated, though the activities of the Peace Corps in the 1960's--largely in secondary schools--and of foreign aid agencies, including the Ford Foundation, in tertiary education, made it an important factor in higher education, in commerce and in international communication. This importance is likely to diminish under the new radical government.

This sketchy summary suggests some of the conflicts and difficulties that affected efforts by new East African governments to formulate or implement policies relating to language use. Governments and educational administrators were faced with the responsibility of balancing almost irreconcilable conflicts between moving toward modernization and replacing the colonial with the African heritage; between the pull of local traditional structures and loyalties and the demands of nation-building; between the desire for upward mobility and the pressures towards maintenance of ethnic loyalties; between imperatives of nationalism and the need to stretch outward toward regionalism, pan-Africanism, and internationalism; between the demands for universal educational opportunity and the costs of tri-lingual primary instruction. Language problems posed roadblocks with respect to decisions on each of these issues that were impassable without detailed information that East African governments neither had nor knew how to obtain.

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[31] "Problems for language Policy in African States: The Sociolinguistic Aspect", Susan J. Hoban, 1973. Unpublished paper.

Policy-makers were baffled by the complexity of the problem, not being sure which way to turn without either compromising modernization of the society and the resultant benefits that citizens considered their just reward for Independence, or undermining both the aspiration and determination on which Independence was founded to create institutions that reflected African roots and cultural heritage. Decisions had to be made on language in relation to such issues by hunch, or on the basis of limited information, or to satisfy immediate political expediency. The Survey was an attempt (a) to collect or indicate some of the kinds of facts that would have to be taken into the balance at such time in the foreseeable future when the governments of these countries would be forced to formulate more explicit national language policies and legislate programs and funds to carry them out; and (b) to chart for future researchers, whether language scholars, or advisers to educators and administrators, or trainers of language specialists, the gaps in empirical evidence that had to be filled and the methods for obtaining such data.

III DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

Genesis

The Survey represents a remarkable confluence of many educational and developmental streams in East Africa, in the United States, and on the world scene. In part their coming together in 1966/67 in East Africa is accidental, in part it is due to the initiatives and perceptions of a few individuals. Some of the individuals were already actively concerned with problems of language use and language development internationally, a few of whom like two of the architects of the Survey--Charles A. Ferguson and Clifford H. Prator--had an active interest and involvement in language problems in Eastern Africa from the early 1960's. Some were working persistently on the problems in connection with education reforms in certain of the East African countries.

Two powerful intellectual rivers came together to create this project: the growing interest of a small group of linguists in the United States in evolving conceptual and research tools which would permit analysis of the ways in which changes in language use related to social development and nation-building; and the pressing concern of leaders in four of the newly independent countries of Eastern Africa, and in the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia, to understand the role of language(s) in the modernization of their multilingual countries (particularly with respect to equalizing access to education, and to obtaining the facts that were indispensable for adoption of policies designed to assure language(s) would serve rather than impede this purpose). Thus, from its genesis and earliest blueprint, the Survey represented two separable goals--interest in increase of knowledge about language use and in the analytical tools for acquiring such knowledge; and illumination of the ways such knowledge related to, and could be used to shape or to implement,policies governing the role of language in education and national development.

These can be quite conflicting purposes. They also can be reinforcing. The first purpose is indispensable for the second. But the scholars required for the first task rarely are in a position to contribute to the second. This report will attempt to assess whether, and to what extent these two objectives were achieved by the Survey, and whether and what extent any sustainable bridges were built in the process between the two that can enable the Survey output to serve future development aspirations and efforts in East African countries.

Though the Survey was regarded by many as a concept of Western scholars, it was actively being germinated in the early 1960's, and before, in East African soil. In 1961, at the Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language at Makerere College, educators from African countries were calling attention to the serious lack of information not only about the uses of English but of "the social and educational function of the languages of Africa."[1] Educators in Uganda and Kenya, in both cases with assistance from the Ford Foundation, were beginning to shift the focus of early primary education toward the child, and in the process to give greater importance and emphasis to the knowledge, the values, and the considerable communication skills African children brought with them to the classroom. As early as 1962 the Dean of Education of Makerere College was germinating concepts that took the form in March, 1967 of a proposal that could have been the blueprint for the Survey:

> "The language situation in East Africa is, if not chaotic, at least more complex than is sometimes realized: there is, at present, no body or organization which has the responsibility to provide reliable information to scholars or policy makers; much of the information which is contained in Atlases, year-books, and even in works of scholarship is unreliable, partial, or out of date.
>
> "The core of the communications problem must remain, however, an East African one. It must concern itself with the nature of the various languages and their distribution, with the sociological and psychological problems which accompany the basic linguistic and communal harmonies and

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[1] Introduction to Language in Uganda, op. cit.

> disharmonies. It must determine the linguistic and conceptual background of the child when he enters school and during his first years in school, and his linguistic and other ideational and communication needs when he leaves the educational system. It must study the use of language in commerce, industry, the army, the police, the civil service and the university..."[2]

The Representative of the Ford Foundation during the early 1960's, Francis X. Sutton, was reminded in almost every aspect of his work of the decisive importance of language in relation to development, and particularly to the nation-building concerns of all of the countries in Eastern Africa. He, and Courtney A. Nelson, the Assistant Representative, gave considerable thought and attention to language matters, particularly starting in early 1965 to the evolving idea of a Survey

The Nairobi office gave major encouragement and support starting in 1958 in Kenya[3] and in 1967 in Uganda[4] to research and curriculum development relating to English as a Second Language. In February and March of 1965, Marnixius Hutasoit, formerly Secretary-General of Education and the then Deputy Minister of Planning in Indonesia, and Clifford H. Prator, Head of the English as a Second Language Program at the University of California at Los Angeles carried out at the request of the Kenya Government an evaluation of the primary program developed by the Special Center, called the New Primary Approach. While supporting the policy of using English as the medium of instruction from Standard I, as initially recommended in the report of the Kenya Education Commission, (December 1964), the Hutasoit/Prator report strongly stressed the need to give greater attention to the language of the children, and the different difficulties that their diverse language created in learning English. The report pointed to the dearth of people trained to work on this problem.

> "...if language teaching in Kenya is to realize its full potential it is essential that linguistics specialists become involved. In so far as we have been able to determine there is at present not one single fully trained linguist in all of Kenya. Indeed, there appears to be only one in the whole of East Africa." 5

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2. Paper presented to Conference on Mass Media and Linguistic Communication, by Professor F. Lionel Billows, 31 March-3 April, 1967.
3. Grant for Special Centre: 1958-$22,000; 1963-$210,000
4. Grant for Buloba Teaching College:1967-$96,000
5. Prator/Hutasoit Report, op.cit.

In an effort to implement the policy adopted at independence by Tanzania of establishing Swahili as the national language, Sutton encouraged the African Education Committee of Educational Services, Inc. in the United States (the organization that was developing the new mathematics curriculum for Africa that was to become known as Entebbe Math) to plan in the spring and summer of 1964 a series of Swahili curriculum development workshops. The project proved abortive, but as it involved Charles A. Ferguson, Clifford H. Prator, J. Donald Bowen, and Wilfred Whiteley, among others, it provided a stepping stone toward the Survey.

In early 1965 at the request of Haile Selassie I University(HSIU), Sutton commissioned Ferguson and Prator to assess a proposal that had been submitted for an Interdepartmental Program in Applied Linguistics at HSIU (in actuality a program in English as a Second Language).Though the project did not materialize, this visit, which was extended to include Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, became, in effect, an initial study of the interest in, and feasibility of, a survey, and laid the basis for what became the first draft of a proposal for the project.

In 1966 Professor Peter Strevens(then Professor of Applied Linguistics and Director of the Language Center, University of Essex) undertook a study at the request of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Zambia, which concluded:

> "Zambia is a multilingual society, in the double sense that (a) many languages are spoken, and (b) many inhabitants speak more than one of them. But no information exists inside the country (or indeed anywhere else) about the numbers of those who speak each language, either as their mother tongue or as a language subsequently acquired. Not do we know the uses to which multilingual Zambians put their second and third African languages--do they use them for trade, or for dealing with local officials, or within the family, or what? Nor is the extent of English precisely known. All these statistics (and others on the same topic) are urgently needed, and would render much easier the making of some of the social and educational decisions that will present themselves in future." [6]

The increasingly active concern by East African scholars about the language process in education, and the deepening awareness that an understanding of this process was critical for other developmental areas, led the Representative to write in February 1966:

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[6] Report on Linguistics Aspects of the Research and Teaching Programs of the University of Zambia, April, 1966

> "There is a great deal of nervous fumbling over language policy questions now in East Africa. A good knowledge of the facts of language use and preference will not insure reasonable policy, but it should help. Also, there is a danger that any efforts we may make in language teaching will be condemned to futility if we are not moving with the natural tides in the country. As long as we do not know how often people listen to the radio, in which language they prefer for reading the news, how often teachers use English outside the classroom, we are sailing a chartless sea." [7]

In September 1966 a group of representatives from Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia met for two days at Molo, Kenya, with outside language specialists who had been involved in the dialogue about the proposed project, and with Foundation officers to discuss what kind of survey would be most responsive to needs in East African countries. [8] It was there that the general goals and design of the Survey was first charted, as well as a preliminary blueprint for individual Country Studies.

During these five or six years of first-independence stirrings in East African countries American architects of the new discipline of sociolinguistics were groping for ways to understand how languages functioned in social contexts in contrast to the traditional concern of linguists to describe the way language functioned qua language. Sociolinguists wanted to observe social interaction from the view point of language, in contrast to social anthropologists who had been studying language from the vantage point of social development. If language could be proven an active cause as well as the passive recorder of change, it could be shown to have a decisive role in nation building. To analyze this process the sociolinguist needed to apply concepts and methods of sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, ethnographers, and other social scientists. They were pressing very hard, and in turn being pressed, during the early 1960's to demonstrate (a) that such an interdisciplinary collaboration was possible, and (b) that if achieved it could significantly add to an understanding of how language related to social change, and could thereby produce data of use to those concerned with the relation of language to educational development. Not only did new theoretical concepts have to be formulated about the role of language in social change, but new methodologies had to be devised to collect relevant empirical evidence.

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[7] Internal memorandam.

[8] Participants in the Molo meeting in Appendix A.

Charles A. Ferguson, the director of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) during this period was one of the intellectual leaders of this exploration. He and others, who become associated with him in this endeavor, had been affected in their initial thinking about the social functions of language by work they had done early in their careers in the Philippines, India, Ghana, Egypt, Puerto Rico, Tanzania, Colombia, Zaire, and other developing countries. As their efforts to refine their concepts increased they tended to look toward developing countries where the highly variable elements of the complex process could be more readily delineated than in countries with established, or long accepted and fixed, language policies.

> "The language problems of developing nations present sociolinguists with a virtually inexhaustible and untouched field for the exploration of its central hypotheses and concerns. The problems themselves require interdisciplinary, comparative study as well as both theoretical and applied attention. The intensity of these problems, their difficulty of solution, and their centrality to several major interests of sociologists, linguists, and political scientists, as well as sociolinguists argue for devoting greater attention to them in the years ahead." [9]

They were seeking opportunities to accumulate empirical evidence of differences in language use and their causes; the factors that influence language variation and standardization, modernization, shift,and spread; the attitudinal and institutional factors that affect governmental efforts to enforce language policies; the interplay between linguistic change as narrowly defined and the sociocultural matrices that cause such changes. Additionally, these questions led to an interlinked chain of questions about the role(s) of language in learning by children and the extent language instruction in schools

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[9] Joshua A. Fishman in Sociolinguistics and tne Language Problems of Developing Nations, Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta, eds. John Wiley and Sons, 1968.

corresponded with linguistic realities and needs, and with the imperatives of educational development and nation-building. Related to both congeries of issues were questions summarized by Joshua Fishman of how to train people both to do the requisite research and to train others:

> "All of the foregoing topics are language-related, but they cannot be studied as such by most sociolinguists today (not to mention most sociologists and most linguists). Topics such as these require the close collaboration and integration of disciplines that are still too rarely in serious contact with each other. Optionally they require much more than multidisciplinary research; they require preparation of researchers who are themselves interdisciplinary and therefore can approach questions in this area in term of total problem-orientation rather than in terms of vested disciplinary interest and skills...(i.e.) sociolinguists rather than merely'sociolinguistically oriented' sociologists or linguists."[10]

The Committee on Sociolinguistics of the Social Science Research Council, chaired by Charles A. Ferguson, in an attempt to illuminate the problems faced by sociolinguistics and to try to stimulate interest by social scientists, convened a meeting in November 1966 on the language problems of developing nations. The papers presented to this conference represent one of the first efforts to relate sociolinguistics to the process of development in countries of the Third World, and the first organized effort to entice social scientists into the dialogue.[11]

The CAL, in cooperation with the British Council and Bureau d'Etude et de Liaison pour l'Enseignement du Francais dan le Monde (BEL), sponsored a series of conferences with the title of International Conference on Second Language Problems (ICSLP). The annual meetings, starting in 1961 and extending for nine years,were attended primarily by language experts from universities, government agencies, associations and foundations concerned with problems created by the peculiar importance of English and French in developing countries of Asia, Southeast Asia and Africa. At the second and third of these meetings, held at Nijmegan, Holland, and Besancon, France, in 1962 and 1963, respectively, a recommendation was made that a study in depth should be undertaken, perhaps in a country in sub-saharan Africa, of the total linguistic and social situation as it determines language use and educational development. The first director of the Survey Clifford H. Prator, made a report on the plans for the program at the ICSLP meeting in Tunis in 1967.[12]

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[10] Language Problems of Developing Nations op.cit.

[11] Ibid

Thus, world scholarly interest in the way languages functioned to further, encourage, or impede development and nation-building, were beginning by 1966 to intersect with the problems worrying educators and administrators in East African countries of how to make use of language to further national development. This led the first Field Director of the project to say that the Survey was an idea whose time had come in April, 1967, when the first grant was approved by the Ford Foundation.

The assistance of American and British sociolinguists and language scholars was sought in formulating the Survey, in part to assure the interest of those with the skills and experience necessary to carry out so challenging a project, and in the process to guarantee that the project had international acceptance:

> "The fact that 'sociolinguistics' is attracting the attention of leading linguists and social scientists in the United States gives us a promise that we will be able to get first-class people associated with a Survey." [13]

Purposes

In early 1966, at the request of the Ford Foundation Representative, Charles A. Ferguson and Clifford H. Prator visited Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Tanzania to try to answer two questions"(1) was the situation ripe and were there adequate resources for a language survey of Eastern Africa; and (2) if so, how should the work be planned so as to provide the types of information that would be of most practical value to administrators or educators?"[14] The results of this feasibility study were first reported publicly in the Linguistic Reporter in August 1966.

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12. This series of international meetings was considered by Clifford H. Prator to have played a unique role in germinating ideas from outside East Africa that eventually intersected with concepts that were developing in the countries of East Africa about the need for greater knowledge about languages and their uses.

13. Internal Foundation memorandum

14. Introduction to Language in Uganda, op.cit.

By the time the Survey was launched in April 1967, the goals as officially proclaimed in the Bulletin were: to gather information on the use and teaching of languages in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia; to stimulate research and development in linguistics and language pedagogy in the region; to assist in strengthening the resources of East African institutions concerned with linguistic and language arts and sciences; to foster closer, productive intraregional and international relations among specialists in linguistics and related disciplines.

These goals would be pursued through four types of activity: preparation of five country studies resulting in a monograph on the Language Situation, Language Use, and Language in Education; support of relevant local research and language development (i.e. institution-building) projects; scholarships for graduate study of linguistics and sociolinguistics by East Africans; dissemination of information through special publications like the Bulletin, and through occasional regional conferences.

Obtaining the projected data, in most countries for the first time, would require innovative research methods not only with respect to the distribution and use of languages and their relation one to the other, but concerning the theretofore uncharted highly sensitive factor of people's attitude toward language use. With respect to language use, the Survey would attempt for the first time to obtain comprehensive answers to such questions as what languages were used by whom, when, and where; the relationship and intercommunicability of the languages and their dialects; the extent and location of multi-lingualism; the factors that cause speakers to shift from one language to another; the relation of languages to social status; and the attitudes of people toward their use of languages. The following questions relative to use of language in education would be studied: to what extent do the languages used for instruction correspond with linguistic and socio-cultural realities; to what extent does language instruction correspond to linguistic needs of the society; under what circumstances and with what degree of success does teaching of second and third languages take place; what are the strengths and weaknesses in materials and in teaching methods used for teaching various languages and for teaching various subjects in different languages; what is the situation with respect to purposes, methods, materials in training of language teachers and language-competent teachers?

Development of local personnel and institutional resources for training was critical to the long-term goals of the Survey, as the number of East Africans adequately trained in language sciences and linguistics to carry out the type of innovative research required was minimal in all East African countries. Only two universities at that time offered a few courses for training language specialists --Haile Selassie I University (HSIU) and University of Dar es Salaam.

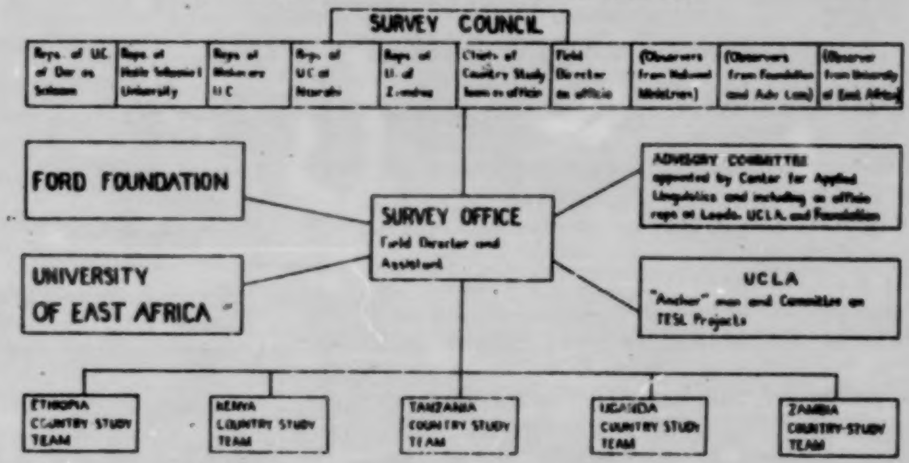
The Strengthening of intra-regional and international lines of communication and interchange with individual language or linguistics scholars and teachers, research centers, and training institutions concerned with comparable theoretical and applied language problems was a secondary goal that took on increasing importance as the project developed.

Structure

The hydra-headed organizational structure that emerged for administrative and fiscal management of the Survey was so uniquely complicated for such a project that it required a gestation period of two years. The following organization chart was published in the first issue of the Bulletin:

Organizational Chart of

"Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa"


SURVEY COUNCIL
Reps. of UC of Dar es Salaam
Reps of Haile Selassie I University
Reps of Makerere UC
Reps. of UC at Nairobi
Reps of U. of Zambia
Chairs of Country Study teams ex officio
Field Director ex officio
(Observers from National Ministries)
(Observers from Foundation and Adv. Com.)
(Observer from University of East Africa)
FORD FOUNDATION
UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA
SURVEY OFFICE
Field Director and Assistant
ADVISORY COMMITTEE appointed by Center for Applied Linguistics and including ex officio reps of Leeds, UCLA, and Foundation
UCLA
"Anchor" man and Committee on TESL Projects
ETHIOPIA COUNTRY STUDY TEAM
KENYA COUNTRY STUDY TEAM
TANZANIA COUNTRY STUDY TEAM
UGANDA COUNTRY STUDY TEAM
ZAMBIA COUNTRY-STUDY TEAM

Funding responsibilities were divided between the Foundation and three grantees: The University of East Africa, the University of California at Los Angeles, and the Center for Applied Linguistics.

> "For convincing reasons the Foundation saw fit to give the Survey an uncommonly complicated administrative structure: four or five separate budgets; various degrees and types of control vested in the Survey Council, the Advisory Committee, the University of East Africa, the universities of the five countries to be surveyed, the Foundation offices in Nairobi and New York, as well as in the Survey Office itself. Several hundred individuals scattered over the world have been directly involved in the operation, and the possibilities that interests would clash have been too numerous to count. A tremendous amount of consultation was thus required to get the machinery into motion in the first place. The chief problems of keeping it in motion has been to provide all the necessary coordination and exchange of information." [15]

That the cumbersome structure did not defeat the lofty goals of the project was due to skillful and tireless efforts on the part of many people inside and outside the Foundation, most particularly the field directorate, once the Survey Office was set up in Nairobi.

The operational components of the project and their specific purposes (as well as percentage of total project funds disbursed), were as follows:

1) The University of California at Los Angeles (16% of the funds)

   To supply and fund the two sequential field directors of the project, as well as the assistant director, who set up and staffed the Survey Office in Nairobi.

   To plan and administer the scholarships for training overseas to be awarded to East Africans by the Council.

2) A Survey Council, which first met in November 1967 and semi-annually thereafter was comprised of representatives of the universities of the five countries, with Ministry officials and Ford Foundation staff as observers,[16] and the director of the Survey Office as an ex officio member:

   To provide general policy guidance for the Survey;

   To approve the general plan for the Country Studies, and secure whatever support or assistance might be needed from African institutions;

   To select recipients of the 30 man-years of scholarships that were awarded to native East Africans to pursue graduate studies in the U.S., U.K., France, Tanzania, and Kenya;

   To determine the recipients of individual research grants.

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[15] Progress Report by Survey Director, June 30, 1968

[16] Educational administrators from each country were also present as observers. The members of the Council are shown in Appendix A.

3) The University of East Africa (15.7% of the funds)

To serve as the convenor of meetings of the Survey Council, and other conferences related to the Survey;

To recommend research awards related to the Survey in each country;

To encourage faculty development in linguistics;

To disperse funds for Survey Council meetings, local expenses of Country Teams, and local researchers.

4) Advisory Committee (3.2% of the funds)

This Committee, housed at CAL and chaired by Charles A. Ferguson, had three primary functions related to the initial planning phase of the project:

To aid in recruitment of personnel for the five country studies;

To serve a channel of communication with the New York office of the Ford Foundation;

To provide a two-way channel of communication with the scholarly and academic world to advise on the professional aspects of the project.

(Members of the Committee given in Appendix A.
This Committee was terminated after two years)

5) The Survey Office

The Central office for directing and administering the Survey was set up in Nairobi in November 1967.

To provide administrative direction;
To serve as the planning, scheduling, and coordinating office for the whole Survey;

To serve as the clearing house of information both within East Africa and in relation to the ever-increasing world interest.

Though the main office throughout the Survey was in Nairobi, separate sub-offices were established for brief periods at the University of Nairobi, Makerere College, and HSIU.

6) The Language Association of Eastern Africa

The LAEA was established in mid-1970[17] at the dissolution of the University of East Africa which by happenstance coincided with the closing of the Survey Office. Its establishment at that time was in part motivated by the urgent need to find an East African agency to take over certain administrative functions (relating to research grants) of the University of East Africa and the Survey Council.

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[17] The first meeting took place on May 31, 1970 immediately following the terminal meeting of the Survey Council

Guided by an Executive Council, most of the members of which had been members either on the Survey Council, or in some way had participated in the Survey, the LAEA initially took over the following functions:

Publication of the Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa (intended to replace the Bulletin);

Review and approval of research applications;

Convening of conferences;

Serving as link with language associations of East African countries.

At the time LAEA was established each of the countries in the Survey had a functioning language association with periodic meetings, and in some cases, their own bulletins. In an interim evaluation report written in May 1971, Professor Wilfred Whiteley gave the estimated paid-up membership as follows:

		Date established
Kenya	100 - 130 members	11/68
Ethiopia	50 - 75	3/19/68
Uganda	50	9/19/68
Tanzania	30	10/9 /68
Zambia	20	3/7 /68

The LAEA continues to function, as do the associations in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia.

7) Foundation Offices in New York and Nairobi (65.1% of the funds) Almost two thirds of the total funds were expended directly by the Foundation for salaries and logistic costs of Country Team members. With the exception of the deputy head of the Zambia Team whose compensation was charged directly to the budget for the Zambia Study, all other personnel related to the Survey were hired as project specialists by the Foundation in order to assure comparability of terms not only relating to salaries but to factors such as housing, transportation, cost of living allowances, schooling for children, health facilities, insurance, etc. that related to hiring overseas. In addition, the

Foundation directly funded the costs of the separate temporary branch offices for the Country Teams in Kampala, Addis Ababa and at the University of Nairobi.

Blueprinting and facilitating the design and interrelation of the various operational components required continuous professional and administrative attention by Foundation staff from early 1966 until the end of 1976. During this period more than 20 different staff members in Nairobi and New York devoted substantial time to this project.

The various non-Foundation administrative components had quite different life spans, the UCLA grant being of longest duration owing to the need for extensions to permit graduate students from East Africa to complete their studies.

UCLA-First grant, April 24, 1967; Second grant, August 24, 1969; Terminal date, July 15, 1975

Survey Office-Opened, August 1967; Closed, July 1970

CAL Advisory Committee-Established, June 1967; Discontinued, June1969

University of East Africa-First grant, May 1967; Terminated, June 1970 (when the University was dissolved)

Survey Council-First meeting-November 1967; Sixth (& last) meeting-May 1970

Sponsorship

Though the Survey was not initiated by the governments of Eastern Africa, each country study had to be reviewed and approved by the separate government; additionally, the delegates from each country to the Survey Council were appointed by the universities and, in fact, represented them. In most cases this meant that the character and purpose of the research was assessed and discussed at the highest levels of Government before the individual members of the country teams could be approved by each university. The research was of a character that required both sanction and cooperation of government administrators at national, provincial and local levels before it could be carried out. In certain of the countries, Zambia being the most striking example, the execution of the Survey became an important part of the national dialogue on language policies.[18] The universities in each country served as the center for the Country Team, and in most cases the director received a university appointment--both decisions requiring approval by the Vice Chancellor. Each of the four published volumes is co-sponsored by a national academic research body: Language in Uganda by the Makerere Institute of Social REsearch; Language in Kenya and Language in Ethiopia by the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi; and Language in Zambia by the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia.

Personnel

The Survey envisaged by the group at Molo and by the Survey Council would have to chart new conceptual territory, and to devise new interdisciplinary methodologies that could produce research that would measure up to universal scholarly standards. Thus a blueprint had to be designed that made possible a program that was intra-regional, international, and interdisciplinary, with each Country Study under the direction of the best person for the specific factors in each country. The eventual teams and their disciplinary specialty were as follows with the leader in each case listed first:

Uganda	Peter Ladefoged	Linguist
	Clive Criper	Social Anthropologist/Linguist
	Ruth Glick	Educationist
Kenya	Wilfred Whiteley	Linguist/Social Anthropologist
	David J. Perkin	Social Anthropologist
	Barbara S. Neale	Linguist
Tanzania	Edgar Polome	Linguist
	C. Peter Hill	Educationist
	Henry David Barton	Linguist
Ethiopia	Charles A. Ferguson	Linguist
	Marvin L. Bender	Mathematician/Linguist
	Robert L. Cooper	Psychologist/Sociologist
	J.D. Bowen	Linguist
Zambia	Sirarpi Ohannessian	Applied Linguist
	Mubanga E. Kashoki	Linguist

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[18] See "Some Developments in Zambia Since 1971," by Robert Serpell in Language in Zambia, op.cit

Funding

The funding of $1.3 million was provided entirely by the Ford Foundation. The major part of the expenditure was for the salaries and logistic costs of members of the Country Study teams. The balance went in the forms of grants to three organizations as follows:

Ford Foundation	$840,687
University of California, Los Angeles	206,847
University of East Africa	201,858
Center for Applied Linguistics	41,999

IV INTENDED RESULTS AND FOR WHOM

Diverse "clients", or publics, were intended to benefit from, or be served by, the Survey: the world community of scholars concerned both with the function of language in social development and also with the need to train new types of sociolinguistics scholars; East African educators, and administrators, who were concerned with the role of language in education and were faced with the task of shaping language policies that can meet the needs and aspirations of citizens and at the same time serve the requirements of nation building; the staff of the Ford Foundation in East Africa and in New York faced with choosing between alternative uses of limited funds to assist language development efforts, or to train people in the new skills required for such roles in East African countries and other parts of the world. This section suggests the ways in which the Survey was intended to serve these constituencies and meet these needs.

Gathering and Disseminating Basic Information on Language Use and Teaching

A principal goal of the Survey was to increase empirical data about the use and teaching of languages to be drawn together into five separate Country Studies. They were each to have sections covering a description of the major local languages (the language situation), data on the ways in which different languages were used (language use), and material on the role of language in formal education (language in education).

> "Each of (the) Country Studies would attempt to provide as much as possible of the basic information judged to be relevant to the formulation of sound language policies and to the effective implementation of policy through the educational system and mass media of communication."[1] These monographs were to be "comparable in format and to some extent parallel in content written in relatively non-technical language for the average educator and concerned layman. In addition there were to be separate technical monographs and articles in which research results were to be reported in detail to professional scholars, and workpapers recording various types of internal Survey materials in process."[2]

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1. Prator in Language Surveys in Developing Nations, Ohannessian, Ferguson, Polome; Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, VA, 1975.
2. Unpublished paper given by Clifford H. Prator to meeting of International Conference on Second Language Problems in Tunis, 1967.

This latter objective was successfully fulfilled by the Bulletin, which was put out quarterly by the Survey Office the first two years of the project with detailed information about the varied activities carried out under the Survey.

As can be seen by the following schedule there was a very substantial gap in all cases between the original projected target for the completion of the manuscript and the actual publication of the volumes.

Country	Completion of Field Work	Completion of Manuscript	Projected Publication Date	Date of Publication
Uganda	Feb. 1969	Summer 1969	End-1969	Mid-1971
Kenya	1969	1970	Mid-1970	Mid-1974
Ethiopia	Dec. 1969	1973	Mid-1970	Early 1976
Zambia	Early 1971	1975	1977	June 1978
Tanzania	1970	Not completed as of August 1978		?

In order to assure effective distribution of the monographs in East Africa, the Survey Council voted to put the books out in paperback for that market, and the Ford Foundation agreed to provide a publication subsidy to assure a price that educators, government officials, and others in those countries could afford. Oxford University Press was selected as the publisher because of its interest in language, its facilities for printing language materials, its regional office in Nairobi and the special resources this presumably offered for distribution in East African countries, and its worldwide distribution capacity for the hardback volumes. With the publication of Language in Ethiopia Oxford by mutual agreement abrogated its contractual responsibility in 1976. The task of putting out the final two volumes was assumed by the International African Institute.

As will be indicated later in this report deficiencies in the planning of the Country Studies, premature closing down of the Survey Office, and delays in publication of the findings of the Survey, represented a serious drawback to the recognition and practical acceptance of the Country Studies as language planning tools in East African countries and therefore to fulfilment of one of the priority original objectives of the Project.

As of January 31, 1978, with Zambia not yet published, the total world distribution of the three other volumes was as follows (according to OUP office in Oxford):

	Sale	Complimentary
Uganda	1083	164
Kenya	441	56
Ethiopia	656	191

Stimulating Research in Linguistics and Language Pedagogy

One of the most important functions of the Survey Council was to encourage and support research by anyone in the five countries who submitted a proposal that related to the goals of the Survey; this was labeled type-b research. Field research directly related to Country Studies, called type-a research, was under the funding jurisdiction of the University of East Africa. In contrast to the scholarships the research grants were not restricted to East African citizens but were granted to anyone who was working on language problems in an East African institution. In all $162,000 was made available for 53 research projects. In addition, 13 so-called developmental grants provided support for such activities as conferences, workshops, meetings of country language associations, and in one case purchase of tape recorders. The largest type-b grant was for $4400, the smallest was for $50, with the average approximating $2500. The geographical distribution of these grants follows:

	Research	Development
Ethiopia	14	1
Kenya	9	3
Tanzania	13	4
Uganda	10	3
Zambia	7	2
	53	13

Both the research and development grants are listed by country, principal investigators, and amounts in Appendix D.

Some of these research undertakings became important chapters in the Country Studies. Of more significance was the extent to which they generated considerable continuing interaction between the individual researchers and the Country Teams to the considerable lasting benefit of both.

> "Many of the proposals were inspired as expansion of country-study coverage, and were planned with valuable technical advice from team leaders...this has been an effective way of both involving local scholars in the country studies and of developing local expertise in the methods and procedures of scholarly research".[3]

Strengthening of the Resources of East African Institutions Concerned with Language Development

An important long-term goal of the Survey was building up the self-generating capacity of East Africa institutions to train appropriate linguistics scholars and language specialists to be able to provide future leadership for training academic and research, and for advisory services to government and educational administrators. This was to be achieved in four ways:

1) Fellowships were to be offered for graduate training of qualified East Africans, up to the Ph.D. level, where justified, and in overseas institutions where essential. The criteria were as follows:
    a) Citizenship in one of the Survey Countries;
    b) Appropriate background and interest in linguistics and/or language teaching;
    c) A promise made by the scholar to return to East Africa for his professional career--to remain for a period of time at least equal to the duration of the training;
    d) Strong recommendations from institutions cooperating with the Survey (universities, Ministries, teacher training units, etc.), which will likely employ the scholar on his return;
    e) Superior academic background and record, with strong recommendations from former teachers who know applicant well;
    f) Evidence of professional or research commitment (experience, publications, etc.);
    g) The availability of an appropriate training program, with East African universities given first priority, overseas universities second

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[3] "The Language Survey: 1968-70" by J. Donald Bowen in *Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa*, Vo. 1 No. 2.

Fellowships were approved to 26 students for approximately 30 man-years of graduate study in linguistics and related fields in the United States, England, France, Tanzania, and Kenya. The list of scholarship recipients, their field of study, and university is given in Appendix D.

2) Direct assistance was given to several of the Universities for the development of Departments of African Languages and Linguistics. In the case of University of Nairobi and Makerere College, this assistance was instrumental in helping establish new departments after the dissolution of the University of East Africa in 1970.

3) Supplemental small developmental grants to the Universities for equipment; for conferences and workshops; and in a few cases for research projects;

4) Assistance to the Language Association of Eastern Africa, and to the five separate national associations, providing general support to permit their initial establishment and assure regular meetings and publication of newsletters.

Encouragement of Closer, Intra-regional and International Relations among Language Specialists

From the earliest germination of the idea of a possible survey, in discussions held by Ford Foundation staff in 1965, as well as by Clifford Prator and Charles Ferguson with educational and government leaders in their preliminary survey in several countries in East Africa in early 1966, the Survey became a catalytic factor in bringing people concerned with language problems together in East Africa. Some of the people that became interlinked in this dialogue through the Country Studies, the Survey Council, and the Language Associations were communicating about these problems for the first time. The Survey also facilitated, perhaps accelerated, the recognition by Governments of the vital role Universities had to play with respect to training, research, and advisory services in relation to language problems. A significant example of the catalytic role of the Survey in East Africa is provided by the first regional conference that was sponsored by the Survey in December 1968 immediately following the Seminar on the Implications of Multilingualism in East Africa sponsored with the International African Institute.

> "...there were 106 participants from 35 institutions in Burundi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and 33 from 14 institutions in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Holland, Italy, the U.K., and the U.S."[4]

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[4] Survey Bulletin, Volume 2, Number 2.

In the introduction to the volume containing selected papers from that conference Dr. Thomas P. Gorman from the University of Nairobi wrote:

> "As a result of the Survey of Language use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa some of the potential areas of cooperation and duplication of effort have been identified and contacts have been established between language teachers throughout the region."[5]

The Survey Bulletin, of which the first of 8 quarterly issues was published in November 1967, gave a very detailed, running account of the purposes, methods, participants, research interests, and research projects of the Survey. It had an initial distribution of 1000 copies to 19 African and 18 non-African countries.

Though in its second year the Bulletin declined by about half in its circulation to a total of 13 countries in Africa and 11 outside, it continued until its demise in August 1968 to give wide visibility to the Survey. The distribution for the first four issues and at the beginning of the second year was as follows:

	Volume 1 Number 4	Volume 2 Number 1
	Number of Copies	
Ethiopia	82	43
Kenya	125	183
Tanzania	98	102
Uganda	150	49
Zambia	80	36
Burundi	15	1
Nigeria	12	2
Sudan	16	2
Other Africa	55	15
U.K.	106	45
U.S.	242	61
France	7	5
Canada	3	5
Belgium	3	3
Other Non-Africa	26	11
	1000	583

From almost the start of the project, efforts were made by local scholars or administrators of other countries in Eastern Africa (e.g. from Malawi, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan) to participate in the Survey. Though the efforts to expand the

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5. Language in Education in Eastern Africa, T.P. Gorman, Ed.; Oxford University Press, 1970.

Survey were not successful the interests that motivated them caused those responsible to keep in touch with Survey developments, and (as indicated in the section on bibliography by Annie Hawkinson in Chapter V)in several cases to try to emulate the Survey.

For a variety of reasons the Survey had extraordinary, probably unprecedented, international visibility and interest from the very outset. The concerns about language that accompanied independence of colonial countries were beginning to create world-wide ferment about the key importance of language in development, as reflected in the Commonwealth Conference on English Language Teaching at Makerere, in the ICSLP meetings in the early 1960's, in such conferences as the Second International Congress of Africanists in Dakar in December 1967. Recognition was growing of the need for empirical data on how languages functioned in developing countries, and the ways in which local languages related to the world languages that had been imposed by the former colonial regimes. Additionally, there were a number of more specific reasons for this international visibility.

The Linguistic Reporter, a periodic newsletter published by the CAL, carried a front page article by Charles A. Ferguson in its issue of August 1966. which was presented as:

> "a slightly modified version of a statement prepared in Nairobi in February 1966...intended as background material in connection with a proposed language survey in Eastern Africa."[6]

At that time, the Linguistic Reporter had a circulation of 5000 of which approximately half were international. The article stirred a great deal of interest.

From 1967 participants in the Survey had an opportunity to discuss its concepts, design, and methodology at a large number of international meetings concerned with linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language planning. Examples of

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6. Linguistic Reporter, Volume 4, Number 5, August 1966.

three such regional conferences in different parts of the world were the West African Linguistic Society (WALS), the Inter-American Program in Linguistics and Language Teaching focusing largely on Latin-America (PILEI), and the Summer Linguistic Institute sponsored annually by the Linguistic Society of America in cooperation with an American University, all of which began to take note of the Survey in meetings from 1969 on. Members of the Country Study teams, were involved with other projects concerned with research problems that were conceptually and methodologically related to the Survey.

An important factor in the internationalization of the Survey is that from the time the proposal was initially drafted in early 1966, until it was endorsed by the Survey Council in November 1967, it had been reviewed by several groups of scholars in the United States (by an informal group of scholars at the CAL on July 9, 1966 and by the Advisory Committee which included 3 British participants in June, 1967), as well as by the East African group at Molo in September 1966.[7]

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[7] Participants in the Conference at Molo, Kenya, and members of the Survey Council and Advisory Committee are given in Appendix A.

V EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

Achievements

Any attempt at evaluation of this project must keep in mind:

-the embryonic state of sociolinguistic arts in 1967 when the project was launched;
-the complexity of the research objectives and the vast expanse of unchartered terrain that had to be explored;
-the limited supply of tested vehicles for traversing such terrain, as well as of experienced navigators; and
-the length of time it takes in any society for research findings of whatever type to replace worn-out parts, particularly in the highly conservative sector of education.

One runs the risk of looking for results too soon, in the wrong places, or too near the surface with inadequate criteria, or of trying to observe results through the myopic lenses of one's own limitations and biases. In an effort to avoid such pitfalls we have limited our assessment to three broad substantive goals of the Survey, and to observations on ways in which deficiencies in planning and management affected achievement of those goals. The final section speculating on ways the planning or operation of the Survey might have been improved should be regarded with the same caution one would apply to any revisionist approach to history. One point needs to be strongly underscored in assessing the Survey: because of its many innovative dimensions even some of its failures served as positive lessons for subsequent survey efforts, thereby significantly influencing concepts and methodologies with respect both to basic research and strategies for using research findings.

Achievements of the Survey have to be assessed in terms of the two distinct goals--advancing the knowledge of sociolinguistics and increasing the capacity of East Africans to become part of the scholarly fraternity of explorers in the discipline; and producing knowledge about languages and their use that could serve needs of educational and governmental administrators in planning the role of language in national development. It is with respect to the first goal that achievements, to date, are most marked. Considering the limited empirical data that had been accumulated before 1967 concerning the language-use aspects of the objectives, the Survey represents an enormous addition to knowledge about how language functions in multi-lingual, multi-cultural societies. More than any project previously undertaken it helped to test the central thesis of sociolinguistics, i.e. to understand the function of language one must study the social contexts in which languages are used and the factors that affect their use.

Contribution to knowledge about languages and their uses in East Africa and about the process of language planning and development. The Country Studies represent a massive effort to pull together in one volume essential information about languages in use in five different but geographically and linguistically related, East African countries. With respect to all five countries the studies represent the first attempt at a comprehensive overview of the language situation. Numerous previous efforts, such as those of Mission groups, were highly specialized, or were focussed on limited aspects of one language, such as the extensive work on Swahili and Amharic. Additionally, in varying degrees the Country Studies attempted, for the first time, to analyze certain fundamental factors that affect language use, and that handicap teaching. Delay in publication obviously affected the usefulness and impact of these achievements, but in some cases the very process of systematically drawing up such material affected the national dialogue about language policy. It is reported that in Ethiopia, the Volume provided the blueprint needed by the current revolutionary government when it wanted to shift from Amharic as the national medium for education to ten other major languages of Ethiopia that were the mother tongue of the majority of Ethiopians. Those monographs which are published provide indispensable teaching materials and research guides in university courses in East Africa, and elsewhere, on African languages and linguistics, and on language planning in East Africa.

Through the Survey Council, the several country and regional conferences sponsored by the Council, the government review procedures required to carry out the Country Studies, and the periodic publication of the Bulletin, the Survey served as a catalyst bringing together East Africans who had common interests in language problems. This was true within certain of the five countries, but was most significant on the inter-country level. Additionally, the Survey developed close ties, in some cases productive interaction, with most of the centers, and research institutes in East Africa working on language problems, as well as such operational projects as the Buloba Language Unit in Kampala, the English Medium Centre in Lusaka, and the Curriculum Development and Research Centre in Nairobi. As indicated elsewhere the 8 issues of the Bulletin, distributed over a period of two years, created a remarkable temporary network not only in Africa, but internationally.

The Survey initiated a process that is indispensable for both development and effective implementation of language policies--i.e. realization by scholars, educators, and administrators of the complexity of the problems, and of the variety of skills needed for carrying out both indispensable research and the many facets of implementation with respect to planning, language engineering (i.e.expanding and modernizing the corpus), materials development, teacher training, various levels of formal and non-formal education, improvement of the media as national educational vehicles.

The Survey comprises a first innovative and at points sophisticated effort to address questions of language standardization, dialect variation, interrelationship and intercommunicability of Bantu languages[1], language shift, the language uses for different domains of social activity, and the consequent character and function of multilingualism.

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[1] Language in Zambia illustrates similarities of 42 words and 7 numbers in 25 Bantu languages of Zambia.

The direct and derivative research output from the Survey has made possible development of a whole new dimension of graduate training in sociolinguistics, in applied linguistics, in language planning in the United States. Though a systematic tracing of this effort has not been possible, evidence of it is marked at UCLA, Stanford, Southern Illinois, and Texas.

Contribution to strengthening language and linguistics training/research capacity in East Africa and bringing East Africa into the mainstream of sociolinguistics.

Through encouraging participation of East Africans as contributors to the Country Studies and through the involvement of East Africans in supplementary research (which received both funding and professional reinforcement from the project) the Survey contributed significantly to creating an awareness at many points and levels in East Africa of linguistic and sociolinguistic research requirements and standards. This process, which started almost on the first day of the project, laid the early foundation on which self-generating university training in linguistics and language sciences was either established or strengthened.

The impact of the Survey in accelerating build-up of university training/research resources is graphically illustrated by the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Nairobi. The initial Development Plan was drawn up by the Kenya Country Team director, Professor Wilfred Whiteley at the request of U/Nairobi after the dissolution of the University of East Africa in mid-1970. His work on this blueprint was facilitated by his temporary appointment to the University and his physical presence at the University during the field-work phase of the Country Study of Kenya. The new Department of Linguistics and African Languages was set up in 1970, with a Kenyan, Mohamed Abdulaziz, as Senior Lecturer (now Head). By 1978 there was an establishment of 1 professor, 1 assistant professor, 1 senior lecturer, and 6 lecturers, of which 4 are Kenyans. Because of the expanding demand for teachers of Swahili and English in secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges, the majority of students have come from Education:

Number of Students
B.A. (with Ed. option)

1972	6		
1973	26		
1974	40		
	B.A.	B. Ed.	Total
1975	10	43	53
1976	6	96	102
1977	10	82	92

In October 1975 the Department started a two year M.A. Program, which also served as the course-work staging ground for work toward a Ph.D. By 1977 five M.A. students graduated; 2 Kenyans, 1 Dutch, and 2 British (from the Summer Institute of Linguistics). By the end of academic 1978, three additional Kenyan students are expected to qualify for the M.A. degree. It is of interest to note that of the two graduate students who have obtained a Ph.D. degree one is the current Minister of Education in Kenya. Of four Kenyans who received graduate training in connection with the Survey, one is in the Department, one (currently working at the Institute of African Studies in Zambia) is expected to join the Department in academic 1978, and 2 are working on language materials for publishing companies.

The training received by Kenyan linguists in overseas universities (at UCLA, Texas, and London) and the regular participation of visiting professors (from the University of London, School of Oriental and African Languages, University of Cologne, University of Texas) has brought the program to a high standard of performance, and established links with major linguistics centers outside of Africa--a considerable achievement in a period of eight years that could not have been accomplished but for the Survey.

The Zambia Survey illustrates equally the seminal effect of the project on both those working professionally as language specialists, and those forced by their positions as educational administrators to shape language policies.

> "The very presence in Zambia during 1971 and 1972 of a small but active team of researchers into issues of language must initially have caused a number of administrators to turn their attention to questions which might otherwise have appeared less significant. Moreover drafts of many chapters contained in the present volume have circulated widely within Government circles.

> Data which had been collected by other agencies, such as the 1969 Census of Population and Housing and the Ministry of Education statistics on students and staffing in various subject areas, were analyzed by the Survey team and thus brought into focus. Additional data collected by the researchers were discussed at seminars in the Zambia Language Group and have often been incorporated into teaching at the University of Zambia.
>
> But perhaps more important than any specific body of data has been the arousal of interest in issues of language. The Zambia Language Group... has been one major agent for maintaining this interest. In addition the two Research Fellowships in Linguistics at the Institute for African Studies and the growing Zambian Languages component of the School of Education's Department of Languages and Literature have institutionalised within the University of Zambia a tradition of research and teaching concerned with Zambian languages. If it was the Stevens Report (1966) which laid the foundations of these developments, it was the Zambia Language Survey (1971) which provided the impetus for their implementation." [2]

The direct assistance given by the Survey Office and by members of Country Study Teams to help establish and sustain both the five national language associations; as well as the Language Association of Eastern Africa (LAEA) represented an effort, only partially successful to date, to (a) assure sustained interest and effort on the part of teachers, researchers, media specialists, textbook writers, government administrators concerned with language problems, (b) establish potential East African capacity to work toward use and implementation of all aspects of the Survey activity--including dissemination and possibly translation of the Volumes; and (c) encourage inter-regional interaction and interchange between and among individuals and institutions concerned with language development. The LAEA, as well as the national associations continue to operate and some have maintained drive and effectiveness.

The Survey caused East Africans to become part of the international dialogue between language specialists and linguists more quickly and significantly than they would have otherwise. Whereas no East Africans were part of the main stream of linguistics in 1967, many East Africans have achieved world recognition since 1967 as a result of the Survey. Indeed, most of those East Africans who eventually became contributors to the Country Studies achieved international professional recognition they might not have done otherwise, or at least might not have done so soon.

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[2] "Some Developments in Zambia since 1971" by Robert Serpell in Language in Zambia, op.cit.

Contribution to sociolinguistic theory, empirical data, and methodolcgy. The 1960's is the decade when sociolinguistics emerged as a discipline. The works of such people as Ferguson, Fishman, Ervin-Trip, Hymes, Gumperz, Labov, Sibayan, Bright, Das Gupta, Haugen, Le Page, Ray, Lambert, were just beginning to give shape and validity to the discipline and to stimulate scholarly questioning and response. For reasons suggested in Chapter III the Survey became an important element in the international dialogue, and even before publication of the Country Studies began to have by the end of the decade an impact on the discipline both conceptually and methodologically.

At the time the Survey was launched, only a few sociolinguistic surveys had been undertaken in multi-lingual and multi-cultural developing countries. Most of them were micro-studies limited to describing the language-use patterns in small communities[3], rather than the processes as they affected the interaction of individuals and groups on a national scale. The Survey thus not only would more than double the number of studies and the amount of empirical data about the way(s) language functions in modernizing developing societies. It would be the first effort since Sir George Grierson's monumental Linguistic Survey of India in the early part of the 20th century to do it on a national scale, and the very first comparative assessment of basic common factors governing the ways languages function in several countries at once.

The direct scholarly output from the Survey, quite independent of the Country Studies, has been enormous, in terms of dissertations by graduate students in East African universities and elsewhere, and of scholarly articles by members of the Country Teams published in journals throughout the world including the Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa. In addition the Survey has had a very widespread impact, almost from its start as a project in 1967, through papers given by Survey-related personnel at international conferences, through discussion of the Survey at international meetings, through references to research goals or findings of the Survey in a large number on monographs published between 1967 and 1978.

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[3] "The Madina Project: Sociolinguistic Research in Ghana" by Jack Berry. In Expanding Horizons in African Studies, G.M. Carter ed. Northwestern University, 1969.
The Iloila and Rizl Experiments in Philippine Language Teaching Experiments, by Frederick B. Davis, Philippine Center for Language Study, Monograph No.5, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1967

Though there is evidence that the very presence and activity of the field research for the Country Studies set off a process of language development, as indicated in the quotation above from Language in Zambia, the most immediate and tangible effect of the Survey are (a) the contents of the five volumes, and (b) derivative research and publications that were stimulated directly or indirectly by Survey research or researchers. A comparative review of the published books on Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Zambia, and the almost-completed manuscript for the study of Tanzania, was prepared for this report by Thomas P. Gorman to assess their contribution to the field of sociolinguistics conceptually and methodologically, and their value to language educators and administrators responsible for language planning.[4] A comprehensive list of research and publications, that were a secondary, but no less significant, result of the Survey, was compiled for this report by Ms. Annie Hawkinson with the advice of Charles A. Ferguson; a summary analysis of this material by Annie Hawkinson is given below.

Although, for reasons already given, the value of the volumes to those seeking immediate operational guidelines for language planning purposes is limited, at least with respect to short-run uses, the volumes represent a major contribution to sociolinguistic research in the following ways:

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[4] The full review is given in Appendix C

-They marshall a massive increase in empirical data needed not only better to understand the extremely complex interaction of languages, and the multiplicity of the ways in which they are used, in countries of East Africa, but to validate hypotheses about the function of language in general.

- Related to this are the innovative methods that had to be developed to obtain much of the data, particularly with respect to the use of survey instruments to produce correlational data in situations in which population-data was not generally available.

-With respect to language classification, which has traditionally been based on linguistic features, compelling evidence is presented that the use of socio-cultural and sociolinguistic factors may require reclassification. This is of major consequence in determining language spread, as well as in relation to the very practical problem for educational planning of assessing language shift and language switching in order to determine the appropriate languages for instruction.

-On the other hand the study of language shift (i.e. changes in language use associated with a whole group) and in language switching (i.e. the changes in vocabulary, syntax, dialect, or languages in different situations by individuals), particularly as analyzed by David Parkin in Language in Kenya, contributes significantly to sociolinguistic theory as well as to a better understanding of the ways languages serve the everyday communication needs of people living and working in multilingual settings.

-Some of the most significant comparative material probes the question, of importance both theoretically and for language planners, of the distinction between languages and dialects, and the means of measuring intercomprehensibility between languages, between languages and dialects, and between dialects. Evidence demonstrates (a) that as with language classification, use of sociolinguistic criteria produces different results than had been obtained solely by applying linguistic factors; and (b) that (in Ethiopia) transactions can be facilitated by the multi-lingualism of the traders as much as by the emergence of a trade lingua franca."[5]

-Though somewhat outdated the material in the volumes on (a) the history of language policies and (b) the teaching of African languages has increased the relevance of the Survey for language planners with the shift that is taking place--as reported with respect to Kenya above--away from the New Primary Approach back to the use of African languages for early primary school instruction.

The contribution of the Survey to emerging sociolinguistic theory and research methodology is even more impressive if viewed in relation to the expanding waves of derivative material that has been radiating from the Survey.

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5. In a recent unpublished paper, Mubanga Kashoki, co-author of Language in Zambia has reported that effective multilingualism can carry higher prestige than command of English or Swahili.

Assessment of direct and derivative bibliography, by Annie K. Hawkinson and C.A. Ferguson. (Comprehensive bibliography in Appendix B). In order to evaluate the use of the Survey it is important not only to discuss work done by Survey members themselves, but also to examine how their work has influenced subsequent sociolinguistic work, inside and outside of Eastern Africa. The Survey's contributions to sociolinguistic theory and practice fall into two categories: confirmative and innovative. As regards the first, it is necessary to observe that gathering data for testing previously-made hypotheses or generalizations is as important as collecting data upon which new hypotheses can be based. Some of the observations made in papers at the Ninth International African Seminar on 'The Social Implications of Multilingualism' which was sponsored in Dar es Salaam by the International African Institute in December 1968 in conjuction with the Survey-sponsored regional conference[6] were subsequently validated by the findings of many Survey-sponsored research projects. For example, in testing for mutual intelligibility in Uganda, listening comprehension texts such as those in Fishman and Cooper[7] were employed with a high degree of success in Language in Uganda. Similarly, previously posed hypotheses about the significance of usage domains for understanding language use, also discussed at the Seminar by Eugene A. Nida and William L. Wonderly, underlaid the design of many Survey projects. This fact is reflected in the organization of papers in some of the Survey volumes, e.g. Language in the Market, Language in the Court, Language and Factory Workers, Language and University Students in Part II in Language in Ethiopia.

Findings of the Ethiopian Survey team have also confirmed hypotheses about the role of 'foreigner talk' in the formation of pidgins. In Ethiopia the the evidence was fairly substantial that an Italian 'foreigner talk' exists which is regarded as appropriate for talking to African and other 'native' people, and represents the broken Italian of such people. A striking feature of this 'foreigner talk' is the use of only two verb forms, the infinitive and the past participle, a usage which parallels that found in the pidgin varieties of Italian spoken in Ethiopia. A reasonable explanation for this similarity is that Italians speaking with Ethiopians sometimes used this established feature of 'foreigner talk' when the Italian pidgin was first developing.

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[6] Whiteley, 1971, op.cit

[7] J. Fishman and R. Cooper "The Interrelationships and Utility of Alternative Bilingualism Measures." In Whiteley, 1971, op.cit.

Work done by the Survey has also been important for studies which are not directly concerned with multilingualism. For example, the study of second-person pronoun usage outlined by Susan J. Hoben in Language in Ethiopia yielded results which were consistent with those found in previous studies concerned with second-person pronoun usage in Western Europe.[8] In both situations, dimensions of relative status (power) and intimacy (solidarity) account for pronoun usage. That the same dimensions should be observed in such distinctly different socio-cultural contexts raises important theoretical issues. For instance, are power and solidarity semantic universals? Questions such as this have formed the basis for a recent paper on deference in pronominal reference by Brian Head, to appear in Universals of Human Language, edited by J.H. Greenberg. Another example is P. Ladefoged's work on phonetic similarity between Bantu languages, as discussed in Language in Uganda. His experience with the Survey contributed directly to his knowledge of sound systems not found in Western languages, as is apparent in his discussions of African sounds in Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics, now a basic work in the field of phonetics.[9]

The Survey has also contributed to sociolinguistic theories and methods by demonstrating new research techniques and formulating new hypotheses, still to be validated by work outside of East Africa. Specifically, significant advances have been made in the area of mutual intelligibility testing and in the development of a theory of language spread.

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[8] "Pronouns of Power and Solidarity" by R. Brown and A. Gilman in Style in Language, ed. T.A. Sebook, MIT Presss and John Wiley, 1960.

[9] Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics, J.H. Greenberg Chicago University Press, 1971.

Originally, interdialectal intelligibility testing was used as a kind of dialect geography to measure degrees of difference between dialects.[10] Later, its usefulness as a criterion for determining genetic relationships between languages was questioned. Today such tests are often used to decide which mode of speech can effectively serve for communication in a particular geographical area.[11] The efforts of Country Teams to design and implement various intelligibility measures were innovative in certain instances,and improvements of older methods in others. Their results have contributed directly to the methodology of mutual intelligibility testing.

The pioneering effort of the Ugandan team is exemplary; their program for assessing degrees of intelligibility being particularly complex.[12] One problem with previous intelligibility tests has been that different passages were used to represent different languages. Thus speakers hear one language in one passage, and another language in another passage. It is therefore never clear to what extent different intelligibility scores are due to differences between languages or to differences in passage content. The Ugandan Survey team solved this problem by translating all reading passages into each language being investigated. In addition, they determined the percentage of shared vocabulary between pairs of languages as an independent measure of linguistic similarity. And from this a measure of phonetic similarity was also derived. The Ugandan team's findings confirmed that both these measures correlated significantly with the reported similar findings and, in addition, found that measures of geographical proximity to major population centers was also significantly related to degrees of intelligibility between languages.

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[10] Methods for Determining Intelligibility Among Dialects of Natural Languages, C.F. Voeglin and Zellig Harris; Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1951.

[11] Dialect Intelligibility Testing, E.H. Casad, Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1974.

[12] "Sociolinguistic Surveys: the State of the Art" in Conference Proceedings of the International Conference on Methodology of Language Surveys, Arlington, Va., May 1975.

A Complete discussion of the methods and findings of the intelligibility tests in the Survey now appears in E.H. Casad's Dialect Intelligibility Testing. Based (in part) on their findings, Casad has concluded that intelligibility seems to be a more plausible indicator of dialect extensibility than linguistic similarity and measures of genetic relationship (based upon comparative data), although there seems to be a significant correlation between them. Even more interesting perhaps are the implications of the mutual intelligibility studies for the classification of African languages. Specifically, since we do not know enough about past relations between tribal groupings in Africa, the historic-linguistic method of language comparison has turned out not to be adequate in making detailed classifications of African languages. Thus, the Country Teams found that groupings on the basis of linguistic similarity do not always coincide with groupings based upon mutual intelligibility, and that there were language varieties which were linguistically similar but regarded to be distinct languages by native speakers.[13] In fact, the classical delineations of language and dialect on the basis of mutual intelligibility (i.e. dialects were considered to be mutually intelligible, languages not) did not always apply.[14] The general significance of problems such as these for past theories of language classification is obvious. And depending upon which method is chosen for classifying languages, past assumptions about the historical spread of language groups in Africa, at least in East Africa, may have to be reevaluated.[15]

The contribution of the Survey to a theory of language spread developed from the efforts of the Ethiopian team to characterize language use in that country. Their attempt to describe how Amharic is expanding led to the formulation of a typology of language spread which has since stimulated consideration of language spread in other areas.[16] Furthermore, the team's findings were also the stimulus for planning an international conference on the processes of language spread in general to be convened by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Aberystwyth, Wales in September 1978.

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[13] Language in Uganda, op.cit.

[14] "Description of Fourteen Bantu Languages", Derak Nurse and Gerard Philippson in Language in Tanzania. Forthcoming.

[15] See Gorman, Appendix B.

[16] See The Spread of English, R.L. Cooper, J. Fishman, and A.W. Conrad, Newbury House, 1975.

The basic typology proposed by the Ethiopian team posits three ways that a language can spread: as a lingua franca, used for communication between groups; as a mother tongue, occurring when people adopt a language as their home language; and as a superimposed language, used for purposes of within-group communication but not as a mother tongue. The findings of the Survey team in Ethiopia suggest that Amharic is spreading in all three ways. The methods they employed for establishing this are important for developing a methodology to implement their theory of language spread. One was a language census where various heads of households answered questions about their own language proficiency as well as that of other members in the household. Another method involved direct observations by one of the team members of language use in market transactions. The Survey findings showed that (a) Amharic is not serving as the lingua franca in Ethiopia, and (b) the proportions of transactions in a given language could be predicted on the basis of the proportion of residents in the town claiming that language as a mother tongue or as a home language. These findings are relevant to the study of language spread in several ways. Theoretically, they demonstrate that heterogeneous market settings do not necessarily give rise to trade lingua franca, an assumption which has been made in the past. Furthermore, language does not spread uniformly through all contexts of usage; hence, while Amharic appears to be spreading through urbanization and education, it does not seem to be spreading through trade. Methodologically, the Ethiopian study illustrates the value of a new technique for sociolinguistic inquiry, that of transaction counts, which permits systematic and unobtrusive observation of language use as it occurs.

In addition to its contributions to sociolinguistic theory and practice, the Survey has also been important in the development of general language survey methodologies. Its more obvious influences can be seen in the papers which were given at the two conferences concerned with language surveys which were held subsequent to the Survey's grant period. Papers from the first conference (held in New York in 1971, organized by the Center for Applied Linguistics and funded by the Ford Foundation) appear in Language Surveys in Developing Nations (1975), edited by S. Ohannessian, C. Ferguson and E. Polome. A discussion of papers given at the second conference appears in Conference Proceedings from the International Conference on the Methodology of Socio-linguistic Surveys[17] (held in Montreal Quebec in 1975, also sponsored by the Center for Applied Linuistics with funding from the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre of Canada, and Canada Council). Less apparent perhaps has been the Survey's role in stimulating and/or shaping survey activities in other countries: language studies in two countries profited directly from the experience of the Survey: Jordan and Sudan. In fact, survey activities in the latter were originally stimulated by the presence of Survey researchers in Eastern Africa.[18]

One of the principal criticisms of the Survey was that there was not adequate interest and involvement of government officials. The recommendation of Survey members that language researchers should work more directly with local governments has been specifically noted by investigators in the Sudan as the reasoning behind their current efforts to coordinate language research projects with national programs for economic and social development.[19] The Jordan Survey[20] was also designed in a way to assure elimination of particular problems which developed in the Survey (Prator, personal communication). In fact, in order to make sure that the results of the Jordan survey were understood by, and therefore available to, local government officials, a special two-day seminar was convened by the Minister of Education in which the three authors of the survey report met with representatives from the Ministry of Education, other government departments, and the university to discuss the findings of the Survey.

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[17] Both books published by the Center for Applied Linguistics.

[18] Directions in Sudanese Linguistics and Folklore, S.H. Hurreiz and Herman Bell, eds; Khartoum University Press, 1975.

[19] Ibid.

[20] English Language, Policy Survey of Jordan: A Case Study in Language Planning, W. Harrison, Clifford H. Prator, G.R. Tucker, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

Although there has not yet been sufficient time to assess the impact of the Survey on the study and teaching of linguistics in Eastern Africa, several developments in educaitonal programs certainly reflect a growing awareness of the need for both linuistic and sociolinguistic studies. Presumably, the changes were due (at least in part) to the presence of Survey researchers at major East African universities from 1968 to 1971. For instance, when the Survey began, only the University of Dar es Salaam had a linguistics department; but by 1971 new departments had been established in Uganda and Kenya. Furthermore, in Kenya a course concerned with language planning policies and multilingualism was already being offered. In Zambia and Tanzania full courses in comparative Bantu now exist, and at the University of Zambia efforts are being made to design degree programs in different Bantu languages spoken in Zambia.

The design and execution of various research projects undertaken in Eastern Africa subsequent to the Survey have in many cases clearly been influenced by Survey experience. Students enrolled in the Nairobi course on language planning and multilingualism often carry out projects designed to fill gaps left by the Survey research teams. For example in 1972, the author designed a research program[21] which would help validate hypotheses proposed by Whiteley concerning the conditions under which one can expect to find a high degree of multilingualism:[22]

> Where the community is linguistically heterogeneous;
> Where access to education is unlimited and protracted;
> Where communications are good and there is incentive to use them;
> Where personal mobility is high; and
> Where strong attempts are made to encourage people to speak a particular language.

The setting where Whiteley's hypotheses were tested was the University community itself in Nairobi: the methodology used was observational, similar to the transactional analysis used by the Ethiopian research team. The difference between the two was that conversations, rather than market transactions, were observed in Nairobi; the languages used by different speakers in a variety of locations, conversing with a number of different speakers, were recorded. The

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21. *Who Speaks What Language To Whom and Where: A Case Study of Language Use at the University of Nairobi*, A.K. Hawkinson, 1972. Ms. op.cit.
22. *Language in Kenya*, op.cit.

findings of the study suggested that the university community itself might be best characterized as a paradigm case for Whiteley's hypotheses, since all conditions were clearly fulfilled and a high degree of multilingualism was observed. However, the language used in any particular situation was found to be determined by a number of different factors: topic, linguistic background of speaker and hearer, relative status of speaker and hearer, location and time of conversation. The Hawkinson study showed that although Whiteley's hypotheses may allow the analyst to predict where multilingualism is likely to be found, they do not account for how language will actually be used in such settings. Still, his proposals are useful as a basis for further research and as a framework in terms of which a more complete theory of multilingualism may be formulated, in the same way that the Ethiopian team's proposals have provided the basis for a theory of language spread.

Research projects carried out in Eastern Africa by students from Western universities have also been influenced by the experience of Survey participants. Again this is especially clear in Kenya, where Whiteley's interest in multilingualism, particularly in rural areas was significant in the design of (at least) two dissertation research projects:

> Sociocultural Determinants of Language Maintenance and Language Shift in a Rural Coastal Kenyan Community (1975), by James Duran from Stanford University, and The Role of Swahili in a Multilingual Rural Community in Kenya (1975), by Philip Sedlack, also from Stanford University. Both these students acknowledge the influence and guidance of Survey researchers.

In summary then, the Survey, and the research directly and indirectly derived from it has contributed to sociolinguistic theories and methods in several ways: by providing confirmative evidence for previous hypotheses and methodologies; by introducing innovative ideas (theories) and techniques; by triggering survey activities in other areas and suggesting improvements for their execution; and by stimulating activities concerned with language planning policies and multilingualism in the Survey area. A comprehensive compilation of the research product on which this summary is based is given in Appendix B.

Deficiencies

A project as complex, and unprecedented as the Survey, requiring as much innovation and improvisation in both organization and research methods, would be bound to have weak spots. Many were overcome by the persistent, determined efforts of the two Field Directors for the 2 1/2 years, November 1967 to June 1970, that the Survey Office served as the central operational planning unit. Clifford H. Prator and J. Donald Bowen of the University of California at Los Angeles and their Assistant Director, Clifford L. Lutton (who also served as the Secretary of the Survey Council) did an exemplary job despite the awesome difficulties of intra-and inter-country communication, logistics , and transportation throughout East Africa, all of which were greatly exacerbated by the fact that the major investigators had to complete their field research in a year or less. Dealing with an inordinately complex organizational structure, requiring almost relentless administrative oversight of the multitude of moving parts, they carried out the planning, the coordination, the day-to-day management, the monitoring, the reporting, with imagination, vigor, thoroughness, and infinite patience. Their periodic reports to the Foundation on the operation of the project were detailed, informative, and on time. Their general reporting through the Bulletin provided a unique record of the anatomy, progress , and process of the project as it developed, and created worldwide interest in it.

However, certain weaknesses of planning and overall management of the project defeated or delayed attainment of important objectives. Our assessment will focus on six issues: definition of goals and clientele, composition of Country Teams, research strategy, publication policy, management authority and responsibility, and costs.

Definition of Survey goals, and of components of monographs

The most fundamental deficiency was the failure sharply to delineate the purpose(s) of the Survey, in a way (a) that would clearly indicate the audien for which the volumes were intended and the way they should be written, and (b) that would assure the requisite planning and funding for those purposes. In a personal communication, Clifford Prator demurs pointing out that the four principal goals were clearly stated but what was lacking was an appropriate source of authority to hold Survey participants to adherence of that definition of purpose. Notwithstanding there were then, and there persists on the part of the participants in the Survey, differences on such fundamental issues as:

- whether the primary purpose was accumulation of empirical data that could test concepts of how languages function in the varied socio-cultural contexts of multi-lingual East African societies, or to produce data and material that could serve the needs of policy-makers and educators in their day-to-day decisions about language use in educational development and nation building;
- whether the findings should have been couched in a scholarly level of neutrality that would carefully abjure their practical consequences;
- what should be the length and character of treatment of major topics;
- what is the potential relevance of the material for makers and implementors of language policies.

For example the first director of the Survey Office wrote in a summary at the start of the project (as reported in an unpublished paper given at International Conference on methodology of Sociolinguistic Surveys):

> "...the ultimate aim of the entire Survey is to facilitate the making of enlightened language policy..."

And yet no plan, or effort, or budgetary provision was made to assure either that the Country Studies were written in a style suitable for policy-workers or that the findings of the Survey were distributed to educational and governmental administrators in appropriate forms. All aspects of the Survey were, and continue to be, affected by this unresolved dichotomy between academic and practical goals and the resultant failure to build resources into the project plans and designs for making Survey findings more effectively available in East Africa to policy-makers.

A practical consequence of this failure may be seen in the recent report issued in Nairobi in May 1978, by the Kenya National Committee on Education which gave careful consideration to language and fundamentally altered--indeed reversed--the policy underlying the New Primary Approach by recommending return to the old pattern of teaching early primary standards in major mother tongue languages. The Committee took no note of Language in Kenya during the two and a half years of its deliberations, nor is there any reference to it in the report, despite the fact that language policy is an important focus of the report. Indeed, the evidence suggests that the members of the Committee had no knowledge of the Volume, or, if so, that they clearly considered it not relevant. It is the conviction of one of the authors of this report, Mohamed Abdulaziz, that the Volume would have b recognized as relevant to the purposes of the Committee if there had been more concern for the practical aspects of the Survey. In an internal memorandum reviewing this issue he stated the case as follows:

> The structural organization of the Survey was such that it was destined to be more of an academic exercise than an activity that could have had direct practical influence on matters of policy and implementation. All the Survey team members from the Director to the country teams were practicing academics whose whole orientation and approach was bound to be to a large extent scholarly. In Kenya the team leader was Professor Wilfred Whiteley, whose interpretation of the function of the Survey can be summed up by his own word appearing in the introduction of the Survey volume: "Some people may be hoping that this volume will indicate the lines along which a solution to some of Kenya's language problems might be sought. Such a hope would, I consider, be to misconceive the objectives of the Survey."[1]
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> It is argued that the team was the best that could be selected at the time. There is no doubt about the academic knowledge and field experience of team members but to many Kenyans interested in language matters it seemed to be another academic exercise conceived by expatriate scholars with their own objectives in mind. There was also a feeling among some Kenyans that Kenyans were deliberately kept out of decision-making and were just included on Boards and in conferences as a matter of compromise or window dressing. I do not subscribe to this view, but if the Survey was intended among its functions to influence policy then the teams should have included

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[1] Introduction to Language in Kenya, op. cit.

> Kenyans, not necessarily with higher degrees in linguistics or anthropology, but people in the civil service, and in the country's education system who understand the needs of their country and who have sufficient contact and influence to bring home to policy-makers the importance of the Survey. It was true the team members, or their leaders, did have consultations with certain officials of the Ministry of Education and University Professors. But it would seem that these were rather consultations of a personal nature. It is not clear how the officials contacted viewed the activity of the Survey because there appeared to have been apathy or lack of knowledge of what was going on then among most people who could have influenced events, and even greater unawareness of the Survey results. Hardly anybody in decision-making circles thinks the Survey has had any influence on language policy, and, surprising as it may seem, very few people in policy-making circles have had a look at the Kenya Survey volume.

Though it is clear that implementors of the Survey of the type suggested in the above comments are a quite different specialist than the scholar needed to do the requisite research, the report of the National Committee on Education offers confirmation that the Volume was regarded as an alien study not germane to determination of Kenya language policy. If true it represents failure to achieve an important goal of the project. One factor that clearly, and understandably added to such a feeling of alienation is that the editing of all of the manuscripts except for Language in Zambia was carried out by expatriates in foreign universities far removed from discussions of language policies in the capitals of East African countries, and entailing in some cases physical removal of boxes of basic data (questionnaires, or punch cards) to be analyzed by researchers in their academic home-bases in the United States.

Except for agreement about the general headings such as The Language Situation, Language Use, and Language in Education there was inadequate planning of the perimeters and research strategies for the varied components to be dealt with under the broad rubrics. Although this added diversity it greatly reduced comparability between Country Studies. There had been an original intention to convene workshops for Survey participants on special substantive questions or methodological problems to maximize comparability, but this never materialized.

Composition of Country Teams and interaction between them

Considering the importance of bringing together interdisciplinary teams for the kind of research contemplated, there were serious gaps, as well as relative discipline imbalance, in all Country Teams. The effort to engage the best possible director for each of the Country Studies was remarkably successful. However, selection by the director of each Country Study of his two or three principal researchers had two drawbacks. The directors were forced in some cases into the relatively ad hoc approach of hiring a person who was available and could take off a year at the designated time rather than obtaining the best possible person to assume responsibility for each segment of the study. This exacerbated the discipline imbalance. It also underscored the inadequate representation of social scientists as major research planners and partners though the latter was a priority objective of the Survey architects and one of the strongest admonitions of the advisers. (The meeting of the Advisory Committee at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, March 22-23, 1968 gave major emphasis to this question.) The time factor, with respect to the relative immediacy of the starting date for field work, and to the limitation of one year set for most research in East Africa, was a principal constraint.

> "In making up their teams, team leaders were guided as much by their own conception of what could most usefully be done in the time available, as by the coice of available applicants."2

There was less professional interaction and interchange between Country Team members on conceptual and methodological questions--according to some participants almost none--than was needed for a comparative study of this type. This may have been due to shortage of funds allocated for this purpose, as claimed by one of the directors; if so it was a serious deficiency of planning.

In certain of the Country Studies individual chapters were added as they emerged from different local authors, rather than to fill out a carefully planned structure. This in turn was in part a response to the need to try to include as

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2.Whiteley in Interim Evaluative Report; internal document, May 1971.

many East African authors (or expatriates employed by East African institutions) as possible.

> "There developed a tendency to try to cram write-up of all sponsored local research in the Country Studies. As a result several of the latter grew to extravagant proportions and the audience for which the studies had originally been intended was sometimes lost sight of." [3]

A principal professional review of the Language in Kenya states that the volume contains "sixteen articles, mostly independent of each other."[4]

Though adding significantly to substance, the determination thus to increase local participation exacerbated four difficulties in the pattern of the Country Studies: it (a) increased the appearance of an ad hoc approach in certain of the Country Studies; (b) emphasized the lack of inter-disciplinary balance; (c) added thematic variations depending on contributors, thus exaggerating the lack of detailed planning with respect to the relation of the microstudies to the principal topics; and (d) thereby, further reduced comparability between Country Studies.

Research strategies and methodologies

Lack of an overall research strategy resulted in diverse conceptions of broad research goals, and varied approaches to specific questions depending on the interests, capabilities, and experience of individual Country Team members. It may be argued that this was the only practical way of conducting such an experimental project, but the inevitable result was what appeared to be an ad hoc approach to overall research strategy and to methodologies for specific pieces of research. Editorial coordination and control at both the overall and country-study levels proved inadequate to overcome this deficiency.

Methodology is a very broad rubric that could cover almost all aspects of research on the Survey, from its formulation as a five-country project to the evolution of each of the Country Studies. The degree of soundness of a research project is greatly dependent on the existence of a theoretical framework that has

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3. Prator in unpublished paper presented at International Conference on Methodology of Sociolinguistics Surveys, Montreal, 1975.
4. Review by Carol Myers Scotton in Language, Vol.53, November 1, (1977)

been systematically tested or that can be substantiated by empirical experience. Consequently, that part of the Survey which deals with the language situation in each country is on the firm ground provided by the theoretical framework, the tested field research techniques, and the mass of supporting data, that had evolved in historical and descriptive linguistics, including extensive work over many years on African languages. However, those aspects that were concerned with language use, i.e. sociolinguists, were breaking relatively new ground and thus were handicapped not only by the embryonic stage of sociolinguistics as a discipline, but also by the fact that a theory had not yet been developed adequately to deal with the relation of ethnicity and language to social change. In addition proven techniques for measuring or testing language attitudes, language acquisition, language variation, language shift, and communicative competence (applied linguistics) were lacking.

Three major questions about methodology are relevant to this report: (1) The choice of methodologies for research must take full and detailed cognizance of the realities of available relevant data, fragmented and scattered as it may be, and of the difficulties social mores may create for obtaining the kind of additional data required, and of processing macro-data. (2) Research in Western countries can assume availability of a wide variety of resources for systematic accumulation of indispensable data: vital statistics about different populations; details on educational systems and on teachers, pupils and,indeed,their families; data about different sectors of both urban and rural society and the movement of people between the two; and a variety of other data indispensable for a study of this type. The five countries in the Survey largely lacked such data or resources for obtaining them, and innovative ways had to be devised for obtaining the data. (3) Strategies for gathering data had to accommodate to social and religious mores and values and therefore would not only have to differ by countries, but also might have to be quite different from one locality (and one language group) to the next within each country. Attitudinal data also requires knowledge in depth of socio-cultural factors which makes it imperative that research personnel are familiar with the groups to be studied. The use of questionnaires as a major research method for data collection, in such linguistically and culturally varied social contexts, poses especially critical problems. Complexities of constructing sound and answerable questions are compounded by the even more difficult problems of translation (to subject's language) and interpretation, particularly where questionnaires may have to be in a language other than the mother tongue of the interviewer or the interviewee, and where interviewees of whatever age are not accustomed as are people in most Western countries to answering lengthy questionnaires. At times the scholar who designed the instrument, the interviewer,and the interviewee each had different main languages e.g. it was as difficult to interpret responses of interviewees in those cases where questionnaires were translated from English into a target language with responses translated back into English for analysis as where questionnaires were written in an African language at the outset that was not the language of the interviewee. (4) There are directly related questions about the soundness of the use of computer methodologies for processing macro-data particularly in those countries where neither hardware nor technologies existed at that time for doing it. Additionally most data collection was done in such a short time relative to (a) the scope and goals of the Survey, and (b) the trained manpower engaged in doing it, that some findings, especially with respect to the more amorphous, subjective, and personal aspects of language uses, may be questionable. Inadequate budget was allocated for this purpose with the result that much of the raw data had to be taken out of the country, for final analysis and processing, some having been done at U.S. universities at the personal expense of individual team members.

The complexity of the undertaking, the variety of questions for which empirical data was being sought, the number of problems in obtaining such data in those settings through conventional techniques, the language handicaps of many of the team members, and the limited time of one year or less spent in the field[5] forced most of the expatriate researchers to pursue what was readily available rather than what was needed.

> "The limitations have meant that, where there was insufficient opportunity to gather new objective evidence, recourse was had to seeking the help of the best qualified local observers. It was often necessary to use techniques designed to achieve rough results quickly rather than the very time-consuming and costly techniques that would have provided more accurate information about much more restricted areas of concern. In a sense the contents of the Country Studies was determined on more of an ad hoc basis--i.e. predelictions of the study director, plus the skills of those who would be signed up as team members, plus knowledge of local researchers whose papers were used to fill out certain of the volumes."[6]

Editing and publishing policy

The decisively important publication part of the project was unplanned and poorly executed. The decision to leave editing and publishing responsibility to the directors of each country-study resulted in volumes that were uneven, unbalanced, unduly delayed, too long, and too costly. This permissive editorial policy led to wide variation in the character and length of the treatment of the different sections shown below by number of pages and percentages of each volume.

Chapter Headings	Uganda[7]	Kenya	Ethiopia	Zambia
Language Situation	25 (14.9)	118 (20.0)	160 (28.0)	114 (24.7)
Language in Use	54 (32.1)	266 (45.1)	122 (21.3)	148 (32.0)
Language in Education	58 (34.5)	149 (25.2)	232 (40.6)	177 (38.3)
Other	3 (18.5)	57 (9.7)	58 (10.1)	22 (5.0)
Total Pages	168	590	572	462

The goal established by the Survey Council was to produce relatively short, non-technical volumes, that "would be useful to most people who have a professional interest in language(s) even though they may not have had special training in linguistic,(and that would) not be beyond the comprehension of the average student of an Eastern African Teacher Training College."[8] This fell by the wayside after the publication of the first volume, Language in Uganda.

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[5] Two of the Country Team leaders spent only 9 and 10 months in the field, split respectively into two periods of 4 and 5 months and 3 and 7 months.

[6] Introduction to Language in Uganda, Clifford H. Prator.

[7] The content and length of the Uganda volume was substantially affected by the fact that the social anthropologist on the team contracted an illness in the field that prevented him from completing his assignment; his plan to publish his material separately at a later date has not materialized.

> "With the partial exception of the Uganda volume, which differs from other volumes in length and to some degree in style, the research findings are not generally presented in a form that could be easily digested and interpreted by the layman." 9

They had the additional drawback that after Uganda (which sold for $2.50) the price of doubly-subsidized paperback editions in East Africa were 115 K. Shillings for Language in Kenya, 9 Pounds Sterling for Ethiopia, and $13.00 for Zambia.

There was at times considerable unsuccessful agitation among certain members of the Ford Foundation staff to bring out special treatment of sections most relevant for educators, such as "Language in Education", in forms that would be usable by, and that could be readily and immediately made available to, teachers, administrators, and policy makers. This happened to a limited extent by means of articles carried in the Journal of East African Languages, but proved not to be possible on a more systematic basis partly because of objections from the publishers, partly because the Survey Council, which it must be recalled was comprised largely of academics, rejected such treatment as representing a downgrading of the material. But mostly this was due to the fact that after the close of the Survey Office in July 1970, i.e. before any of the books were published, there was no one to push the issue.

The most serious drawback to the achievement of the goals of the Survey was the decision by the Ford Foundation, against the strong, reiterated recommendations of the two project directors, not to arrange for some form os sustained central editorial and publication control and management after close of the Survey Office in 1970 or after the Foundation's support for the project was terminated a year later (at which time only one of the Volumes had been published). This left the question of editing and publishing to the vagaries of a relatively uninterested publisher, and individual authors widely dispersed and pressed by

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[8] Survey Progress Report, January 1, 1969.

9- Comparative review of the four published volumes, and the one (Tanzania) in manuscript,by T.P. Gorman 1978. See Appendix C.

other responsibilities. Leaving follow-up, as was done, to the changing staff in the Nairobi and New York offices of the Foundation, to the publisher--Oxford University Press--and to the authors, proved not only grossly inadequate, but seriously unresponsive to the central purpose of the Survey, and to the interest of several Governments in East Africa in obtaining the results of the Country Studies as soon as possible. Even when finally published, the facilities and effort of the OUP Nairobi branch for distribution of the paperback edition in East Africa--one of the reasons for selection of the Oxford University Press--proved to be seriously deficient.

The director of the about-to-close Survey Office had no alternative but to write on July 28, 1970 to the heads of the Country Studies in London; Austin, Texas; Carbondale, Illinois; and Washington, D.C. advising them that thereafter they should deal directly with the manager of the regional office of the Oxford University Press in Nairobi in arranging for the publication of their manuscripts. The impracticability of this procedure may be suggested by the fact that final publication of Language in Kenya (1974) and Language in Ethiopia (1978), and Language in Zambia (1978) required protracted negotiations with publishers by members of the staff of the Ford Foundation in New York and Nairobi involving hundreds of man hours of time on a range of editorial, financial, and other critical publication issues.

Management authority and responsibility

Managerial authority of the type required for directing so complex an undertaking never was adequately defined or established. Great ingenuity was required both by the staff of the Foundation, and by those outside working on the Survey from mid-1966 on, to devise operational instrumentalities that would assure general overall direction by East Africans, intellectual participation in substantive issues by qualified world-recognized scholars, effective interlinking of substantive and operational factors, and an appropriate mechanism in East Africa to assume general overall direction of the project. The direct administrative management of the Survey by the two directors and their assistant, who worked out of the Nairobi office, was exemplary. However, by the time the Survey Office was set up in Nairobi as the coordinating unit, its capacity to manage some of the most important aspects of the project was seriously impaired. There were many reasons for the fragmented management authority; some were inevitable considering the size and complexity of the project, the timing and the setting. However some could have been corrected. Five that caused the most difficulty at the time and also that had deleterious long-term effects on achievement of project goals are worth mention.

(1) Though decision about matters of substance were from the outset left to the scholars, and subject to approval of the Survey Council, the final operational authority for the project remained throughout in the hands of the Ford Foundation. Clearly this had many advantages. For one thing it was the only way to deal with certain key operational problems, such as logistic support for the 13 Country Study team members and the Survey Office directors.[10] However, it had serious weaknesses with respect to overall management of the Survey.

Under Foundation procedure authority for determining the character of, and commitment to, the overseas programs is the responsibility of the Representative: The three Representatives and one acting Representative in East Africa, between the planning of the project in 1965-1967 and termination of new Foundation support in mid-1971, had quite different perspectives about the importance of the project, and declining ethusiasm for it. Francis X. Sutton, the first Representative who initiated the project, was forced to leave his post in Nairobi and return to the New York office in December 1966 before the first grant for the project was approved (April 24, 1967). Though the initial grant totalling $597,677 was only for a two year period, it was clear that the project would require funding for a longer term and could thus represent a substantial lien on the limited budgets of Sutton's successors. This shifting of perspective on the importance of the Survey by the Nairobi office and the continuous changing of the staff responsible for dealing with it in both the Nairobi and New York offices of the Foundation, tended to exaggerate some of the management uncertainties created by retention of management controls by the Ford Foundation, particulary after the close of the Survey Office in July 1970 when the project had to continue without a head and was forced to rely on the Foundation for essential backstopping. The greatly diminished program priority and focused administrative support given the project by the Foundation's Nairobi office after 1970 adversely affected the capacity to capitalize on the strong interest that had been generated by certain Governments in the Survey in the course of their sponsorship of the field research.

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[10] There was no organization in East Africa which could deal with these problems across the boundaries of all five countries in the Survey, nor give the type of employment guarantees that were indispensable for signing the desired country team members.

The dissipation of this interest was partly due to the gap of time between the completion of Country Studies and their publication. But it was also due in important measure to lack of a management center of gravity for the Survey after the close of the Survey office in July 1970. Three examples graphically illustrate this factor. (a) Government administrators in Tanzania, up to high official levels, recognizing the extent to which the Survey might produce information that would significantly help implement their national language policy, gave active support to the project; this sponsorship was decisive in opening the necessary doors for the team members during the period of field research in 1969. The Government was assured that findings would be forthcoming by 1971, and expectations were justifiably high. Their disappointment at not seeing the results of the Survey, even by mid-1978 as this report is written, can be easily imagined. (b) The director of Language in Kenya spent considerable time acquainting government leaders with the Survey and its relevance to their work before the manuscript was completed in 1970. However, by the time the book appeared in 1974 most of his contacts in Government had been replaced and interest in the Survey had disappeared. Additionally, as indicated in the comment of Professor Abdulaziz reported above the dominant role of expatriates in the project may have prevented its acceptance as a policy-relevant study. (c) In response to repeated urgent inquiries from the Zambian Minister of Education about when the findings of the Survey would become available, he was assured by the director of the Team on April 11, 1972 that "the draft report of the Survey will be ready within the next few months."[11] The manuscript was completed in 1975 and the book published in mid-1978.

(2) Despite the fact that the two directors--the first of whom stayed in East Africa for 12 months, and the second for 22 months (their assistant was employed on the project for 36 months)--worked most effectively together, and had carried out comparable tandem directorial responsibilities in previous, and subsequent, projects--including some for the Ford Foundation--the Survey needed more, and longer, continuity of executive authority and leadership.

(3) No aspect of the Survey so sharply illustrates the effect of divided authority as the policy--or more accurately lack of policy--with respect to editing and publishing the Country Studies. Despite strong urging by the director of the Survey office, who prophetically foresaw that there would be "a very large amount of work entailed in getting (Country Studies) ready for the press: pressuring contributors, revising manuscripts, editing, etc..."[12] one Foundation official, who had the view that the manuscripts would need a minimum of editing, was influential in preventing the Foundation from arranging for some formal means of

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[11] Letter from Sirarpi Ohannessian to M. Mubwe.
[12] Personal communication.

overseeing editing and publishing of the Country Studies. As a consequence the volumes have been grievously delayed and the Foundation has been enmeshed in almost continuous ad hoc efforts to deal with this critical part of the project to this day.

(4) Ford Foundation funding was in two two-year segments. The two-year duration of the two grants and the four-year limit for Foundation support that was rigidly adhered to, was patently too short a time-span for carrying out a project of this character. The Survey clearly required at least a five year commitment for achieving minimum data-producing objectives, and ten years to reach any measure of implementation. It was quite clear in 1971 when the Foundation's second grant for the Survey terminated (as distinct from subsequent supplementary grants in 1971 and 1975 for funding deficits) that there would be a substantial continuing aftermath from the initial phase of the project. The failure of the Foundation more systematically and operationally to provide for this is difficult to understand, particularly in light of continuing interest in the project in New York and involvement of staff in both Nairobi and New York in many man-hours of very high cost administrative follow-up.

(5) The strategy of shifting certain responsibilities for Survey follow-up to local organizations, particularly to the Language Association of Eastern Africa, looked momentarily logical and promising on paper. But for a variety of reasons, most of which could have been predicted in 1970, this was probably premature and proved to be an inadequate means for solving the problem of implementation of the findings of the Survey. A project with the resource-building and policy-related objectives of the Survey should have warranted more of an effort to assure long-term follow-up. A project that had as much talent and money invested in it, with as much long-term potential significance to East African countries, as well as to the world of language-related scholarship, merited greater investment in its future implementation.

Funding

Trying to measure costs in relation to output or benefit can be grossly misleading in a project of this type partly because many results do not become discernable for many years. However, the costs of this project were unquestionably high, in part due to its structural complexity, in part because of the inevitably high expense for carrying out field research, of the type attempted, predominantly by expatriates. The total cost of the Survey was $1.3 million between 1967 and 1976, which broke down by major functions as follows:

(a) Salaries of Country Study researchers and their logistic costs[13]	$ 840,687
(b) Salaries & Benefits of staff of Survey office[14]	85,228
(c) Grants for local research	162,000
(d) Scholarships for East Africans	104,878
(e) Survey Council Meetings	32,000
(f) CAL Advisory Committee	41,999
(g) Other, including development assistance to universities	24,599
	$1,291,391

The above table suggests some of the anomalies of funding:

Somewhat over 70% of the total budget was expended on salaries and logistic costs for expatriates, and was fully expended by July 1971.

Approximately $290,000 or 22% of the total budget that was allocated for capacitation building was for strengthening individual and institutional linguistics and language specialist resources in five countries.

There was no budgetary allotment for implementation, except for approximately $6,000 that was transferred out of the grant to the University of East African, after its dissolution, to help establish the Language Association of Eastern Africa.

Certain of the essential delayed research costs, such as computer processing of data, were pushed off the budget chart in two respects: (1) they were included only as a marginal, unspecified potential cost for field research under the budget and aegis of the University of East Africa; and (2) by the time they emerged as an actual charge (a) the field work was completed, and (b) the University of East Africa was dissolved and the grant for its functions under the Survey terminated. Thus by the time the inadequacy of funds for that and other research purposes was disclosed funds were not available and the deficiency, therefore, was irreversible and irremediable.

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[13] 13 people involving 159 man-months: one of the directors doubled as a co-leader of the Ethiopia project; the Zambian deputy head and co-editor of the Zambian volume was financed separately.

[14] 3 people involving 70 man-months.

Except for an amount of $23,000 set aside in the University of East Africa budget as a subsidy for publication of the five Country Studies, no allocation was initially made for the extensive and prolonged follow-up that has been required to try to bring this phase of the Survey, the very core of the project, to completion.[15] The Nairobi and New York offices of the Foundation have spent tens of thousands of dollars and hundreds of man-days of staff time in trying to bring this vital part of the project to completion.

In terms of the administrative structure of the project, budgetary responsibilities were distributed as follows:

Ford Foundation		$840,687
University of California at Los Angeles		206,847
Fellowships for E. Africans	$104,878	
Other, including salaries of Directors of Survey Office	101,969	
University of East Africa		201,858
Country Study & Type-b research	162,000	
Publication Subsidy	23,000	
Faculty Development in Linguistics	7,500	
Other	9,358	
CAL Advisory Committee		41,999
Travel & Expenses (3 meetings)	24,714	
Travel of Committee members to meetings of Survey Council	8,285	
Administration	9,000	

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15. The initial allocation and a subsequent supplement of $9,500 made in April 1975 was solely intended as a subsidy to the publisher to try to assure distribution of the volumes in East Africa at a price people could afford.

16. Includes all costs for Zambian Study except salary of directors.

Could the Survey Have Been Better Planned or Executed?

Though this question can be assessed only by rearranging history and restructuring the circumstances that surrounded the Survey, such an Olympian exercise might suggest some of the constraints that timing, and the setting imposed on the project, as well as certain of the consequences of having tried to carry out the project differently. It is easy with hindsight to eliminate natural and inevitable obstructions and faults in the terrain that cause life--and that forced this project--to move with certain lapses in logic, orderliness, symmetry, and consistency. However, such a review of six critical operational questions does suggest that there may have been feasible alternatives to certain features of the strategy, time-table, and procedures adopted for the Survey. The following comments are concerned with quite valid fundamental issues that were integral to the design and organization of the project; they do not in any way reflect on the judgement or performance of the many people who worked so hard and creatively to complete the Survey.

1) Leadership and composition of Country Teams

The leadership and core research members of all Country Teams were expatriates, with the exception of Zambia, for which Mubanga E. Kashoki served as deputy team leader from the start of the project in February 1970 and subsequently also as the co-editor. The preponderance of expatriates proved to be a mistake. Though, one can understand the awkward difficulties this question represented for the initial planners faced with this decision, in retrospect it appears to have been a questionable judgement. The shortsightedness is illustrated by the significant difference in the visibility and status achieved among Zambian officials by Language in Zambia. A twofold reason was given for the decision to appoint expatriates:

(a) "...the human resources necessary to carry out such a project on a regional scale were clearly not then available within the area. While there were small groups of trained linguists in several of the capitals, they were fully committed--even over-committed--in strategic positions. To take them away from their jobs for full-time research would amount to hamstringing their departments and endangering what progress had been made toward developing institutional pools of linguistic expertise."[1] and;

(b) the desire, and the need in light of the complex and experimental character of the projected research, to obtain the most competent and experienced scholars available, and, by involving them, to link the Survey to the discipline of sociolinguistics, thereby bringing sociolinguistics to East Africa and East Africans into the mainstream of that discipline. The Survey Council agreed that only recognized linguists with research experience in developing countries would be qualified to direct Country Studies, and that there were few East Africans who had yet reached that requisite level of training, experience, and recognition in linguistics; there were none in the field of sociolinguistics.

If assuring appropriate dissemination of findings of the Survey to teachers, educators, and policy-makers was in fact an important practical goal of the project as continuously stressed in the Bulletin and proclaimed in the Introduction to Language in Uganda, then it is highly questionable this could have been achieved through the expatriate personnel that made up the country teams none of whom remained in East Africa more than one year. Different types of specialists with strong local ties to government agencies and educational systems, would have been required, as suggested earlier in this report by Professor Mohamed Abdulaziz . (It is important to note that in the one Country Study for which an East African scholar was a partner, Zambia, the project while in process became much more effectively linked to the national policy dialogue on language development.)

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[1] Prator in Introduction to Language in Uganda, op. cit.

Overcoming this drawback might have required fundamental changes in the design of the project. The Country Studies would have had to be delayed until East African scholars either were freed from their heavy responsibilities for the time necessary to carry out leadership and research responsibilities or until East Africans were trained for research assignments--an alternative that would have taken several years. This probably would have meant losing certain of the designated team leaders, all of whom were on extremely heavy schedule of forward commitments. The price of delays in terms of the scholarly quality and vigor of certain Country Studies may have been considerable. But in retrospect, one decade after the field work on Uganda was about to finish and the field work on Kenya and Ethiopia to begin, one can see significant countervailing dividends in terms of the status, visibility, and use of the Survey in East African countries.

2) Dissemination of findings

As has been illustrated in detail in this report the research in the Country Studies has from the outset been very visible to the worldwide community of scholars concerned with sociolinguistic dimensions of language development. However, with the possible exception of certain officials and educators in Zambia and a small group of academics in each country, East Africans paradoxically have not been familiar with the results of the Survey.

> "...the most vexatious issue that the Survey participants have had to be concerned with relates not to the kind of information that was gathered or the ways in which it was processed, but with the manner in which it has (or has not) been made available to those who are interested in the Survey findings..." [2]

It is significant, and quite surprising, that no budgetary provision was made for dissemination of findings beyond publication of the volumes.

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[2] Unpublished paper, "Retrospective Notes on the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa," by T.P. Gorman given at the International Conference on the Methodology of Sociolinguistic Surveys, Montreal, 1975.

Additionally, overcoming this drawback would have required (a) a strategy built into the original project plan for disseminating appropriate findings; (b) having more local people on the Country Teams; (c) appointment to the Survey Office staff of a specialist in popularization of technical linguistic materials;(d)extension of the work of such specialist writers until at least 1976,and (e)consequent supplementary funding for those purposes.

3) Government sponsorship

Though each of the Country Studies had to obtain clearance by governments--indeed both the expatriate researchers and the research had to be approved--and though in some cases there was substantial participation by government officials in initial planning discussions, none of the Studies were either commissioned by government or had official sponsorship. The Country Studies could have benefitted from such sponsorship (as was demonstrated by the Jordan Survey,[3] both in the design and by the way its findings were implemented) particularly considering the extent educational policies at all levels were determined by governments in East Africa. The Studies may also have benefitted in the necessity to control the character and length of presentation of findings and to speed up the timetable for output of results, and in the distribution of the publications assured by such sponsorship.

However, for a variety of reasons none of the governments were at a stage either because they were engaged with other pressing problems of independence, or because the problems of language seemed too complex to solve, or because they were too entrenched in the doctrinaire policies of a socialist government in Tanzania or the conservative ways of an ancient kingdom in Ethiopia to seek or offer such sponsorship. Nonetheless in certain of the countries--most markedly Tanzania and Zambia--there was interest, sanction, and a strong desire to use the results of the Survey,[4] of which the project totally failed to take advantage.

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[3] English Language Policy Survey of Jordan, Harrison, Prator, Tucker: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

[4] In an interview with a member of the Foundation staff in March 1972 the then director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research stated that the Government, in authorizing the study initially had "given it priority."

An alternative would have been to wait until one or more of the governments may have been ready to initiate such a survey. With prolonged discussions, guided by local people, this may have come about in Tanzania or Zambia, or possibly even in due course in Kenya. But a survey thus initiated would have had to take on a different character and design, to be more responsive to the priority concerns of governments, as well as the research concepts and capacities of local scholars. Though the original blueprint for the Survey significantly reflected perception by local scholars, educators and administrators, of the dimensions of the language problem, as interpreted by the architects of the proposal, the conceptual framework for the project was largely responsive to imperatives of the research problem as perceived and defined by Western scholars who were specialists in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Indeed, as indicated elsewhere that factor was considered at the time by the Ford Foundation Representative to be a compelling strength of the proposal because of the extent this would assure--as it did--interest and involvement of outstanding scholars.

4) Ford Foundation support

The question of whether the support of the Foundation was withdrawn too soon must be answered at several levels. The Foundation's involvement with the project continues to this day, both directly--in terms of time of staff in New York and in Nairobi in attempting to bring the final book on Tanzania to publication--and indirectly in relation to the continued effective operation of LAEA, travel and study awards for Survey-related scholars, and support of other Survey-related activities. However, the closing down of the Survey Office in July 1970 proved to be seriously premature, as was the inevitable termination of certain of the activities generated by the Office; e.g. Charles A. Ferguson had the following afterthought in 1975 about the Bulletin:

> "...the Bulletin stopped just at the time it was reaching maximum usefulness...In spite of the informativeness and large circulation of the Bulletin, many people were still not sufficiently informed about the Survey's goals and operations." [5]

With respect to funding, it is hard to argue that the Ford Foundation should have put more into the project than the approximately $1.3 million that was invested directly and in covering logistic support for the 13 expatriate country-team, and the 3 staff members in the Survey Office between April 1967 and April 1975 when all accounts and deficits were finally paid.

However, the four-year duration of the Ford Foundation support as projected at the time the Survey was started is subject to serious question. The first grants and related direct funding of logistic support by the Foundation was for a two-year period, with the understanding that a two-year supplement would be required. Though the Foundation voted funds to cover deficits as late as April 1975, it did not deviate from the original projection: at the end of four years new funding by the Ford Foundation ceased.

An alternative would have been either to have reduced the scope of the project, or to have planned for a much longer period. The project as originally conceived and designed could not possibly have been accomplished in four years. It was a ten-year project, and if the initial strategy for planning, designing, and mounting it had faced this reality, many of the problems noted herein would have been mitigated.

5) Management

The question of whether management could have been improved also has to be examined on different levels. The direct administrative management of the Survey by the two directors and their assistant was exemplary. However, with the departure from Nairobi of the Ford Foundation Representative in

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[5] Unpublished paper for Montreal Conference, op.cit.

December 1966, after the decision was made to establish the project, but just before the first grant was made (April 24, 1967) and 7 months before the Survey Office was opened in Nairobi, the project lost, in effect before it actually got started in the field, some of the interest and support of the Foundation's Nairobi office that was indispensable to its effective development. Additionally, and perhaps as serious, was the continuously changing staff in both the Nairobi and the New York offices of the Foundation with responsibilities for dealing with varied separate aspects of the aftermath or unfinished business of the project but with no one person commanding the authority to tie loose ends together or take such steps as were necessary or possible to offer specific Foundation management backstopping.

A solution would have required first, placing greater responsibility in the hands of the directors of the Survey Office and strengthening their coordinating authority. Some responsibilities, most particularly those relating to publication policies, could have been so shifted; however, since there was then no viable alternative procedures for handling expatriate personnel employed on the project than for them to be hired as project specialists by the Ford Foundation, this large, complex responsibility could not be shifted.

With resepct to essential backstopping, either the Survey Office should have been kept in operation longer, or, after its close in July 1970, specific arrangements should have been made for some form of continuing managerial responsibility in the Foundation's Nairobi office., i.e. appointment of a Project Specialist or a Program Adviser with responsibility and authority to oversee the program for at least a five year period (The Foundation was on the verge of taking this step in July 1970 but at the last minute, for reasons that are obscure, the signals were switched by the New York office). Additionally more effective continuation of the project would have been assured if some measure of supplementary funding, had been provided either from reserves in the Foundation's

International Division, or those in the Middle East and Africa Program.[6] This would have had the salutary secondary advantage of reducing the squeeze on the Nairobi budget that created understandable reservations about extending the project.

No phase of the project so graphically illuminates deficiencies of management as the ad hoc approach to editing and publishing of the volumes. Despite the fact that the Country Studies represented the very heart of the project, to the publication of which the Foundation was committed, they were left on their own to tumble in orbit after the close of the Survey Office in July 1970. In light of the character of its interest and commitment to see them properly published, the Foundation should have appointed someone specifically charged with this task after July 1970, or alternatively established an appropriate mechanism for the purpose. Leaving it either to LAEA, or to the changing staff in the Nairobi and New York offices of the Foundation, or to the publisher--at that time the Oxford University Press--or to the team leaders and overextended authors, proved both wholly inadequate and very costly. In reviewing this question in 1975 Charles A. Ferguson, one of the architects of the Survey, agreed with the unsoundness of the publication policy but differed with the solution suggested herein:

> "...a foreign expert, who looks for a way to have avoided these (publishing) difficulties, is inclined to think in terms of an overall editor with full authority who could work closely with the publisher and make decisions...on contents, format, comparability between volumes, and timing of publication. I now believe this would not have been a good solution. The opposite was required: a multiplicity of inexpensive local publications appropriate to the conditions of each country, with no overall editing, but good means for distribution and sale throughout the area. For example, the publication of language data and historical background in secondary school text books should probably have been an important goal in every country, although details would differ from country to country, such as whether a separate book on language would be appropriate or the material should be incorporated into text books for history, geography, or language teaching. A small amount of subsidy here would probably have far greater impact than much larger subsidies to international publishing house for expensive reference volumes." [7]

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[6] Justified by the fact that the major initial benefits from the project were accruing to the discipline of sociolinguistics and language science in the United States whereas the responsibility of the Nairobi office was to strengthen East African resources.

[7] Unpublished paper, "Rationale of the Language Survey in Eastern Africa, 1967-1970," given at the International Conference on the Methodology of Sociolinguistic Surveys, Montreal, 1975.

However even effective implementation of such a publication program would have required someone to be appointed to the Foundation's Nairobi office with the requisite responsibility, and a long enough contract, to see the policy through.

6) Was the project too ambitious?

The record suggests it was too ambitious for the research and other personnel resources available in 1967. In terms of the goals sought, and with respect both to substantive and methodological issues, as well as questions relating to use of the findings by those East Africans concerned with solution of practical day-to-day problems of language use, there was little gained by having a five-country study instead of a one-or-two-country study. Indeed, the effort to establish comparability between country studies was forced and artificial from the outset.

The architects of the Survey believed it was an idea whose time had come, a view strongly reinforced by the enthusiasm for the proposal by the many linguists, applied linguists, and sociolinguists who had reviewed and discussed it for well over two years before it was launched. It thus was not premature as a research project: it was imaginative and conceptually sound, with a potential for making a major scholarly contribution. However, for reasons that have been suggested in detail in this report, the Survey may have been both overly optimistic and premature as an action project. The very complexity and cumbersomeness of the organizational structure that was deemed necessary to manage the project might have suggested serious factors of prematurity.

The only solution to the lack of adequate numbers of qualified local personnel, of sources for data or methods for overcoming difficulties of data collection, of official sponsorship in all of the East African countries,was to have planned for a longer incubation period. Although, as suggested earlier in this report, almost two years was devoted to conceptualizing the proposal and designing the elaborate organizational structure, too little time was allowed for preparing the variety of local building blocks that were indispensable for effectively relating the project to language development in East Africa.

Additionally, it now seems clear that though certain Country Studies benefited from the research and operational experience of studies already completed, the comprehensive five-country approach did not produce the comparative benefits anticipated. There might have been significant saving in planning and, administrative time, as well as in cost, if a single country study properly sponsored by Government and adequately involving local people--scholars, educators and administrators--had been carried out first as a pilot project. Thus providing a model that served to demonstrate the potential utility of the study for policy-makers, as well as scholars, might have caused certain of the Governments to have taken the initiative to sponsor comparable studies in their countries.

Such an approach would not only have permitted time to train local specialists to a level necessary to participate constructively,[8] but would have assured greater relevance between the design for the country studies and the academic and practical needs in the country. If one takes Kenya as an example, one finds that there would have been ample time for this: the Survey was first widely discussed in Kenya in 1966; the field work was carried out in 1968/69; the manuscript was completed in 1970; the book was published in 1974! At the price of $14.00 in paperback, the book has not been widely distributed, or effectively brought to the attention of educators and policy-makers. Tanzania represents an even more difficult case because of the strong interest of certain government administrators in the findings of the Survey at the time the field research was being carried out. The research findings were literally carried off to the United States in August 1970 for analysis and write-up, and they have not yet found their way back in book form or, as in the case of the Zambia Volume, during the prolonged period of write-up and editing, as draft chapters.

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[8] It should be underscored that a carefully planned and phased approach to training would not require a critical mass of Ph.D's, but people with specialized analytical or implementational competence up to differnet levels.

VI CONCLUSION

Despite the deficiencies, some of which may have been unavoidable once the decisions on the size and complexity of the project, the timetable, and the operational methods were made, the writers have come to the conclusion that the project was extraordinarily productive, and therefore eminently worthwhile for eight major concrete reasons that have been fully elaborated in the report.

> The very process of the Survey greatly raised the consciousness about language issues among those concerned with language in the five countries, and added significantly to the dialogue about the role of language in education and in nation-building in some of them.
>
> The Country Studies comprise a unique body of knowledge and material relating to the language situation in each country, as well as a demonstration of methodologies for assessing problems that surround the uses of mother tongue languages, in addition to Swahili and English.
>
> The Country Studies and the derivative research stimulated by the Survey, represent a giant forward step in the field of sociolinguistics.
>
> The Country Studies are indispensable resource materials wherever African languages and linguistics are taught and studied.
>
> The project substantially and significantly increased the number of people in all five countries trained to deal with language development problems and to serve as teachers of others, as planners, as administrators, and as advisers to policy-makers.
>
> The project helped to establish or strengthen departments of language and linguistics in the universities in each of the countries, and thus to assure a self-generating capacity in East Africa for training the many types of specialists that are required effectively to implement policies and carry out further research.
>
> The Survey brought East Africans into the main international dialogue on sociolinguistics, language planning, and related fields, and illuminated the relevance of the East African experience to other areas struggling with the complex problems of multilingualism.
>
> The Country Studies, provide a basis for implementation through universities and regional and national language associations of language policies in each of the five countries.

In light of the widespread awareness of the Country Studies by language scholars and students, it is the conclusion of the writers that there is pressing need to focus on the second major goal of the Survey, i.e. making the findings, and the research experience gained during the project, effectively available for implementation of language policies in each of the five countries. As illustrated by the report of Kenya's National Committee on Education, the role of language in education is becoming a matter of priority national concern in each country resulting in a move back to the more traditional, and politically acceptable, use of mother tongue languages for early primary instruction.

As this report reveals, the vast store of information about the languages of East Africa in the published monographs is not currently being made use of either by the politicians who formulate language policies or by those administrators in government and education who make the decisions day by day about implementing them. While the material in the Country Studies could not provide answers to all the questions confronting either policy-makers or policy-implementers, it covers many central issues, and, more important, demonstrates how to obtain answers on others. Following are some of the questions that are dealt with in each of the Country Studies that will have to be faced by those responsible for implementation of the recent report of the (Kenya) National Committee on Education and similar policy-formulating committees in other East African countries:

- the size and distribution of major language and dialect communities;
- the interrelation and inter-comprehensibility between languages and dialects, and their variation in urban and rural usages;
- the operational role and relationship of English and Swahili;
- problems of standardization of orthographies and dialectal features for textbook purposes (e.g. typewriters, printing);
- the types of training required for (a) teachers of language and (b) teachers of subject matter through mother tongue and/or other languages;

-the costs in time, displaced teaching materials, teacher effectiveness entailed in an abrupt shift of the language of instruction.

Not of least importance is the fact that the bibliography of research studies stimulated by the Survey provides an indispensable resource for research on language, for designing small, specialized policy-related surveys of language usage and needs, or for other types of staff work that may be required for implementation of language policies.

If the Foundation continues its traditional concern for the role of language in development, and if it recognizes a responsibility to prevent loss of the Country Studies as a unique potential resource for implementation of national language policies in East Africa, it may wish to consider certain steps to facilitate linking the Country Studies to the implementation process. There are many feasible ways (in terms of costs and staff time) of doing this. The most appropriate, and the approach that would produce maximum benefits, would be to work through universities or language centers located at universities. Since the evidence suggests that once Governments establish language policies (largely for political reasons) they turn to universities and academic language specialists to assist in implementation, a major contribution could be made toward linking the Survey to implementation by strengthening the relevant capacities of East African universities. This would serve also to reinforce the implementation capacities of the language associations since the academic specialists provide the major resource for the associations.

In his unpublished paper presented to the International Conference on Methodology of Sociolinguistic Surveys in Montreal T.P. Gorman stated:

> "...in a very real sense the Survey has not yet been concluded. Specifically no concerted attempt has been made to derive general conclusions from the Survey as a whole; or to communicate those to policy makers and educators who are unlikely to purchase the published works."

An additional way to make the findings of the Survey more effectively available and fulfill one of the important outcomes that certain of the architects of the Survey had in mind would be to prepare a comparative summary and index of the findings in the five volumes as a guide to implementation.

Many of the complexities that must be faced in formulating and implementing national language policies have been dealt with in the Country Studies. Though in some cases treatments are sketchy, and in no case are they sufficiently definitive to provide full answers, they point the direction, and the method, by which answers can be found. The next priority task, in the opinion of the writers, is to find the ways to determine the seminal contributions the Country Studies can make to the shaping of language policies. There are few countries where Governments are dealing with problems of language in development more innovatively than Tanzania, more radically than Ethiopia, or more deliberately than Zambia and Kenya. These countries of Eastern Africa have much to learn from each other, and they have much to offer other countries struggling with comparable problems--a process of interchange for which the Survey laid a solid foundation.

APPENDIXES

A. Members of Survey Council and Advisory Committees

B. Bibliography, by Annie K. Hawkinson with introduction by Charles A. Ferguson

C. Review of the Country Studies by Thomas P. Gorman

D. Research and Development Grants by Country; and Fellowships

MEMBERS OF SURVEY COUNCIL AND ADVISORY COMMITTEES

List of participants at Molo, Kenya 16-18 th September 1966

F.X. Sutton	Representative, The Ford Foundation
C.A. Nelson	Assistant Representative, The Ford Foundation
M.J. Fox	Associate Director, The Ford Foundation International Training & Research Program
Aklilu Habte	Faculty of Education, Haile Selassie I University
Abraham Demos	Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Haile Selassie I University
Dorothea Lehmann	Senior Research Fellow in Linugistics, The University of Zambia
W. Whiteley	Director of Institute for Swahili Research, University College, Dar es Salaam
R.J. Wingfield	Responsible for language teaching methods, University College, Dar es Salaam
M. Mosha	Lecturer in African Languages and Linguistics, Makerere University College
R. J. Hemphill	Head, Language Unit, Curriculum Development Center, Nairobi
T. Gorman	Lecturer in Linguistics, Department of English , University College, Nairobi
K. Mwendwa	Chief Inspector of Schools, Ministry of Education, Kenya
A. Molnos	Research Fellow, IFO Institute
F.L. Billows	Institute of Education, Makerere University College

Members of CAL Advisory Committee

Charles A. Ferguson (Chairman)	Committee on Linguistics, Stanford University
Joshua A. Fishman	Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yeshiva University
W.E. Lambert	McGill University
T.F. Mitchell	University of Leeds
Eugene A. Nida	American Bible Society
Edgar Polome	University of Texas
A. Hood Roberts (Vice Chairman)	Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
Franklin Rolfe	Dean, College of Letters & Science, UCLA
Earl W. Stevick	Foreign Service Institute, Department of State
Peter Strevens	Language Centre, University of Essex
Wilfred Whiteley	School of Oriental and African Languages London University

Joint Meeting of the Survey Council and Advisory Committee, Dar es Salaam, December 21-22, 1968

Muhammed Abdulaziz	Lecturer, Department of Languages and Linguistics, University College, Dar es Salaam (Council Member)
Pierre Alexandre	School of Oriental Languages, Paris (Advisory Committee Observer)
Gilbert Ansre	Senior Research Fellow, University of Ghana, Legon (Advisory Committee Observer)
Marvin L. Bender	Member of the Ethiopia country-study team (Council Unofficial Observer)
F. Lionel Billows	Head, Department of Language Methods, Makerere University College, Kampala (Council Unofficial Observer)
J. Donald Bowen	Field Director, Survey Office, Nairobi (Council and Advisory Committee Ex-Officio Member)
Robert L. Cooper	Member of the Ethiopia country-study team (Council Unofficial Observer)
Clive Criper	Member of the Uganda country-study team (Council Unofficial Observer)
Thomas Cutler	Assistant to the Representative, the Ford Foundation, East and Central Africa Regional Office, Nairobi (Council Official Observer)
Carol Eastman	Department of Athropology, University of Washington, Seattle (Advisory Committee Observer)
Charles A. Ferguson	Team leader of the Ethiopia country-study team (Chairman of the Advisory Committee and Council Ex-Officio member)
Joshua A. Fishman	Dean, Ferkauf Graduate School of Education Yeshiva University, New York City (Advisory Committee Member)
George Fortune	Zambia team leader designate* (Council Official Observer)
Thomas P. Gorman	Lecturer, Department of English University College, Nairobi (Council Member)
Hailu Fulass	Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa (Council Member)
C. Peter Hill	Lecturer, Institute of Education, University of London, and Tanzania team member designate (Advisory Committee Observer)
Dell Hymes	Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (Advisory Committee Observer)

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*Replaced by Sirarpi Ohannessian

Peter Ladefoged, Team leader of the Uganda country-study team (COUNCIL EX-OFFICIO MEMBER).

Wallace Lambert, Professor, Department of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER).

Dorothea Lehmann, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for African Studies, The University of Zambia, Lusaka (COUNCIL MEMBER).

Stanley Lieberson, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).

Clifford L. Lutton, Associate Field Director, Survey Office, Nairobi (COUNCIL SECRETARY).

Ali Mazrui, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Makerere University College, Kampala (COUNCIL MEMBER).

C. Mushailizi, Planning Officer, University of East Africa, Kampala (COUNCIL OFFICIAL OBSERVER).

J. Nussbaum, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D.C. (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).

Sirarpi Ohannessian, Director, English for Speakers of Other Languages Program, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D.C. (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).*

P.B. Pandit, Head, Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi, Delhi (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).

Richard Pankhurst, Director, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa (COUNCIL MEMBER).

Edgar A. Polomé, Tanzania team leader designate (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER).

Clifford H. Prator, Vice-Chairman, Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles, and former Survey Field Director (ADVISORY COMMITTEE EX-OFFICIO MEMBER).

Krishna Rayan, Professor, Department of English, University of Zambia, Lusaka (COUNCIL MEMBER).

Irvine Richardson, Editor, Journal of African Languages, Professor, Michigan State University, East Lansing (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).

A. Hood Roberts, Assistant Director, Center for Applied Linguistics Washington, D.C. (VIC-CHAIRMAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE).

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*Director, Zambia Country Study.

John P. Robin, Representative, the Ford Foundation, East and Central African Regional Office, Nairobi (COUNCIL OFFICIAL OBSERVER).

Peter J. Roe, Inspector of English, Ministry of Education, Dar es Salaam (COUNCIL OFFICIAL OBSERVER).

Franklin P. Rolfe, Dean, College of Letters and Science, University of California, Los Angeles (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER).

John Spencer, School of English, Leeds University, England (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER).

Peter Strevens, Chairman, Department of Modern Languages, University of Essex, Colchester (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER).

Farouk Topan, Chairman, Tanzania Language Association and Lecturer, Department of Language and Linguistics, University College, Dar es Salaam (COUNCIL OFFICIAL OBSERVER).

G. Richard Tucker, Consultant, Philippine Normal College, Manila (SURVEY UNOFFICIAL OBSERVER).

H. Leroy Vail, Department of History, University of Malawi, Limbe (COUNCIL UNOFFICIAL OBSERVER).

J. Voorhoeve, The Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren (ADVISORY COMMITTEE OBSERVER).

Wilfred H. Whiteley, Professor of Bantu Languages, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and team leader for the Kenya country study (ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMPER AND COUNCIL EX-OFFICIO MEMBER).

Ralph J. Wingfield, Senior Lecturer, Department of Education, University College, Dar es Salaam (COUNCIL MEMBER).

Pio Zirimu, Lecturer, Department of English, Makerere University College, Kampala (COUNCIL MEMBER).

[It is much regretted that S. Mhando, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the National Swahili Council, and Anthony Chua, Inspector for Swahili, Ministry of Education, both from Dar es Salaam, who accepted invitations from the Survey Office to attend as Official Observers, were unable to be present. Bethwell A. Ogot, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor and Head of the Department of History, University College, Nairobi, a Council member, was also unable to attend. Three Advisory Committee members were unable to attend: T.F. Mitchell, Professor of Modern English, Leeds University, Leeds (John Spencer participated as his alternate), Eugene A. Nida, of the American Bible Society, New York City, and Earl W. Stevick, African Language Specialist in the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Washington, D.C.]

THE SURVEY OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING IN EASTERN AFRICA:

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by Annie K. Hawkinson
With an introductory note by
Charles A. Ferguson

This bibliography was compiled during the period of March 1-31 1978, under the supervision of C.A. Ferguson.

Introductory Note
By Charles A. Ferguson

The preparation of a bibliography of scholarly events (publications, conferences, lectures) derived from the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa is an impossible task. All apart from the time constraint of one month available for the present bibliography, many of the effects of the Survey are indirect and cannot be traced without enormous effort. For example, the mutual intelligibility studies by Ladefoged in Uganda and by Bender and Cooper in Ethiopia (later also by Kashoki in Zambia) contributed directly to the knowledge of the language situation in Eastern Africa and can be followed in publications about Eastern African language problems, but they also contributed indirectly to the theory and practice of mutual intelligibility testing, and significant discussion of their methods and findings appears in a standard work in the field, E.H. Casad, Dialect Intelligibility Testing (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Oklahoma, 1974; pp. 74-76, 120-122), a publication far removed from Eastern African language problems. Two additional examples from the Ethiopian volume will give further illustration of this kind of contribution. Hoben's chapter on deference behavior in Amharic forms of address was picked up by Brian Head in his comprehensive paper "Respect degrees in pronominal reference" which is appearing in J.H. Greenberg (ed) Universals of Human Language (Stanford University Press). Cooper's chapter on the spread of Amharic was the stimulus for planning an international conference on the processes of language spread in general (to be held in Aberystwyth, Wales, September, 1978) which will probably eventuate in a published volume. No attempt could be made to include items of this kind in the bibliography.

The Survey also had the indirect effect of stimulating or contributing to similar survey efforts in other areas. A nearby example is Sudan. As word of the Survey spread, a number of Sudanese suggested including the Sudan in the project. This was not feasible, but language survey efforts in the Sudan increased and such publications as Hurreiz and Bell (eds) Directions in Sudanese Linguistics and Folklore (Khartoum University Press, 1975) reflect interest in and familiarity with the products of the Survey, and the present language survey of the Southern Sudan had benefited from the experience of the Survey. Similarly, the survey of English in Jordan, Harrison, Prator, and Tucker (eds) English-Language Policy Survey of Jordan (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975) was influenced by the Survey experience. Publications such as these were not included in the bibliography. The contribution of the Survey to the methodology of language surveys seems sufficiently direct, however, that efforts were made to include this kind of material in the bibliography, e.g. Ohannessian, et al. (eds) Language Surveys in Developing Nations and R.L. Cooper, "Sociolinguistic Surveys: The State of the Art".

The Bibliography
By Annie K. Hawkinson

This bibliography contains references to a variety of works and projects deriving from or related to the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (SLULTEA). The SLULTEA was carried out in several eastern african countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Zambia) during the period from 1967 to 1971, with funding from the Ford Foundation. The present bibliographical collection is as comprehensive as possible; several factors, however, may have resulted in important gaps. First of all, the short time limit allowed for the compilation made it impossible to track down certain types of derivative works, e.g. unpublished results of research projects sponsored by SLULTEA in each of the various countries; in many cases it was only possible to provide reference to the project titles. Another problem was the fact that the original members of the SLULTEA research teams are geographically scattered; the locations of some were not known and others could not be contacted before this bibliography was completed. Finally, the difficulty in deciding whether a given work can be regarded as derivative or at least influenced by the SLULTEA may have resulted in the inclusion of works less directly influenced by the SLULTEA while more directly affected works were omitted. In a number of cases, the title of a publication was the only clue as to its relatedness to the SLULTEA. In light of these considerations, it is hoped that people associated with the SLULTEA who see this bibliography will send additions and comments so that a more thorough bibliographic documentation of the SLULTEA's influence may eventually be completed.

Abbreviations Used:

ELSG: Ethiopian Language Study Group
KLA: Kenya Language Association
LAEA: Language Association of Eastern Africa
    JLAEA: Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa
LAT: Language Association of Tanzania
LSU: Language Society of Uganda
SLULTEA: Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa
    BSLULTEA: Bulletin of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa
ZLG: Zambia Language Group
    BZLG: Bulletin of the Zambia Language Group

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* Additional bibliographical items that were uncovered after this report was completed are given on pages 34 and 35.

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APPENDIX C

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This paper was written in response to a request from the Ford Foundation's Office for the Middle East and Africa that I should "review the five volumes of the Language Survey of Eastern Africa to assess their intrinsic quality and their contribution to the field in sociolinguistics conceptually and methodologically, plus their value to language educators and administrators responsible for language planning".

(1)

In reviewing the published and unpublished works produced as a consequence of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa it is necessary to take account of a number of factors that affected and to some degree determined the editorial decisions that were taken about the form and content of the Survey Volumes.

The surveys had primarily a practical intent and in the brief approved by the Survey Council relating to the content of the Volumes it was suggested that those participating should concern themselves with description rather than explanation. This general prescription was, for the most part, observed by the members of the research teams.

Secondly, the surveys were exploratory in the sense that they were not designed to investigate specific hypotheses but to present findings relating to general topics such as 'The Language Situation', 'Language Use', and 'Language in Education' with reference to the state of affairs in the country in which the survey was conducted.

In a small number of instances, however, contributors to the volumes have made theory-building or modification a primary concern. This is more particularly the case in those sections of the volumes dealing with the 'Language Situation' and specifically with the classification of African languages and the enumeration of language zones. With one exception, no sustained attempt was made by those reporting on sociolinguistic phenomena to elaborate the theoretical assumptions that had been adopted or employed in the development of a framework for the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data gathered, although in some instances, such contributors have made reference to the more general theoretical implications of particular findings; and in several cases these implications have been further elaborated in articles published elsewhere.

Because of these factors and other considerations that will be discussed subsequently, I think it is true to say that the primary contribution that contributors to the Survey Volumes can be said to have made to sociolinguistic theory and methodology derives or will derive from the descriptive data that they provide and the emprical methods employed to obtain this data: the provision of such data is a prerequisite for the verification if not the development of sociolinguistic theory and the elaboration of sociolinguistic universals. In commenting on the various volumes I will exemplify this point further.

(11)

Before considering in detail a number of studies incorporated in those sections of the Survey Volumes that focus on 'Language Use', I think it would be appropriate to comment briefly on issues raised by certain of the studies dealing with questions of language classification.

Each volume contains a listing and classification of the languages spoken as first languages in the country concerned, and a language map. In each case, the classification made involved an extension and revision of classifications made before the Survey: this being most obviously the case in the Ethiopian Study, in which it was proposed that Omotic should be established as a distinct language family. In each volume, there is some reference to the historical determinants of language groupings, and in the Kenya and Tanzania Volumes (most extensively in the latter) findings are presented that call into question Professor Malcolm Guthrie's allocation of particular languages to the zonal groupings he suggested in Comparative Bantu; and this in turn will call for revision of a number of derived assumptions concerning the historical spread of language groups in the area.

The methodology Guthrie used for establishing different groupings is given brief but critical consideration by Whiteley in the Kenya Volume and the critcisms are made, as it were, from a sociolinguistic standpoint. The question he raised concerns the criteria for deciding whether to regard X as a different language from Y or as a dialect of it, or to regard both X and Y as dialects within a dialect cluster. Whiteley notes that the use of linguistic indices alone as classificatory variables is likely to result in different groupings than would be arrived at if sociolinguistic variables were additionally taken account of.

Evidence to support this assertion can be found in each of the Survey Volumes. In each country there were examples of language varieties which were related at several linguistic levels but which were regarded by their speakers as distinct entities. Each country study also produced evidence of the reverse situation. As Nurse and Philippson note in an article in the Tanzania Volume, the classical definitions of language and dialect do not necessarily apply in this context.

In such definitions, mutually intelligible forms of speech are generally said to be dialects, the term language being applied to mutually unintelligible forms of speech. In three of the Country Studies (Uganda, Ethiopia, and Zambia) experiments were undertaken to determine the degree of mutual intelligibility between different language varieties; and the experiments carried out in Uganda and Zambia are described in the Survey Volumes. In each case the methodology employed to investigate between-language-intelligibility is of some general interest.

In Uganda, Professor Ladefoged developed procedures for obtaining detailed estimates of the degree of similarity of individual languages or dialects using three techniques. The first involved taking estimates of the percentages of words in common - the estimate being calculated on the basis of a word list adapted for the purpose. Secondly, a segmental comparison of word-stems in twenty Bantu languages was made. In general, one stem was classified as being in the same group as another if no segment in it differed from the corresponding segment in another stem by more than two points on a phonetic scale, which was used to indicate the number of phonetic features segments had in common. Comparison of phonetic features by computer provided a more subtle indication of the relative similarity of the Bantu languages than a morphological comparison alone could provide.

Subsequent experiment showed that there was a high degree of correlation between the percentage of words common to the languages under investigation and the degree to which speakers of those languages found them to be mutually intelligible. In the experiments, school children speaking Luganda and Runyankore were asked to listen to eight short stories which were used to determine the extent to which they could understand five languages other than their own. The authors of the study concluded that if two languages had 72 per cent of their words in common there was a probability of about 50 per cent comprehension. They further showed that the degree of phonetic similarity between members of a group of Bantu languages was related to the percentages of words that they had in common: and both measures were shown to be good indicators of mutual intelligibility as measured by the comprehension tests.

In the Zambia Volume, Professor Kashoki reported on an experiment in which he sought to predict the degree to which speakers of the seven official languages could understand languages other than their own. Using procedures developed in the Uganda Survey and by Bender and Cooper in the Ethiopia Survey, he selected three variables to serve as predictors: two linguistic variables (basic vocabulary and a combination of root and grammatical morphemes taken from text), and one non-linguistic variable (geographical proximity). The results of the study indicated, as did the studies carried out in Uganda and Ethiopia, that between-language-intelligibility can be related to the proportion of shared vocabulary. Combined root and grammatical morpheme correspondences were also shown to be a significant predictive factor. Geographical proximity was not, however, found to be significantly related to between-language-intelligibility in the Zambian context, as it was in Ethiopia.

I think it is true to say that it is the methodology rather than the findings of the two studies referred to that is of general interest. The procedures used to define the degree of linguistic similarity in the Uganda study were in one respect innovatory; however, those used to ascertain the degree of comprehension in the two studies would seem to be more open to question (as Kashoki notes), not least because the construct validity of the measures of comprehension used was not, in my view, clearly determined.

Both experiments, then, draw attention to the problems inherent in defining and measuring between-language-comprehension. Indirectly, the studies also draw attention to the evident limitations of procedures by which linguistic indices are used to predict inter-language-intelligibility. In both studies, the performance of members of one language group could not be explained in terms of the linguistic variables controlled for. The Zambia study also provides evidence (relating to Bemba and Nyanja) that intelligibility between pairs of related languages is not necessarily reciprocal. In each experiment, therefore, it is evident that non-linguistic factors operated as hidden variables.

As Parkin notes in Kenya Volume, linguistic affinity is not necessarily a significant or casual variable in itself in the process of language-adding. It becomes significant only if certain other non-linguistic variables are operative.

(iii)

The majority of the studies incorporated into those sections of the volumes relating to Language Use were concerned with the description of the linguistic repertoires of members of particular groups and with the attempt to associate the patterns of language use that were identified with such variables as ethnic group membership, age, sex, occupation, and educational experience. In some instances, information was also sought that would provide an indication of the use of different languages and language varieties for particular functions and in different societal domains. As in most correlational studies, reliance was generally placed on interview techniques and self-report measures. The inherent disadvantages of such methods were generally acknowledged, but not always taken sufficient account of when the data was reported.

The interest and utitilty of the correlational data reported to scholars in the field will be likely to be proportionate to the extent to which contributors have been explicit in specifying information about such matters as the interview-schedules used and the sampling-frame employed. This being so, the account in the first chapter of the Uganda Volume, for example, which outlines the linguistic repertoires and language attitudes of approximately 2,000 people is, as presented, of limited theoretical interest.*

* Professor Ladefoged's account of the methodology of the survey presented in the Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa, Vol 3, provides further explanatory commentary; the exclusion of supplementary 'technical' information from the account given in the Survey Volume was clearly a matter of deliberate policy.

The same point might be made with regard to the correlational statistics relating claimed knowledge of language varieties to such variables as age, sex, and education, that are presented in W.H. Whiteley's chapter on Patterns of Language Use in Rural Kenya, and B. Heine's paper on the Knowledge and Use of Second Languages in the Musoma Region of Tanzania. There is no reason to question the accuracy of the data supplied; but the information is not provided that would allow for the data-gathering exercise to be replicated wholly or in part. Neither is there any question that the empirical data provided in each case could be employed to support hypotheses concerning relationships between language-use patterns and macro-factors; but such data does not in itself provide clear evidence of such relationships. The information given might be of limited utility to scholars interested in secondary analysis of the data, therefore; but it would unquestionably be of value to local administrators and language-planners interested in broad patterns of language use.

In addition to the descriptive data provided, however, each of the writers referred to above provided brief interpretive comments on the repertoire data obtained that suggest future research needs and possibilities. Professor Whiteley, for example, advanced a series of hypotheses in his discussion of multilingualism in Kenya, which he interpreted as being one form of adaptation to particular patters of social life. He suggested that a high incidence of monolingualism might be found under the following conditions:

a) where the community is linguistically homogeneous;
b) where access to education is limited and of short duration;
c) where communications are poor and/or where incentive to use them is lacking;
d) where personal mobility is low;
e) where there are strong constraints against other languages being used;

Conversely, he postulated that a high incidence of multilingualism might be found.

a) where the community is linguistically heterogeneous;
b) where access to education is limited and protracted;
c) where communications are good and there are incentives to use them;
d) where personal mobility is high;
e) where strong attempts are made to encourage people to speak a particular language.

Such hypotheses could provide a basis for subsequent systematic enquiry; but Whiteley's concern in the Kenya study was to present findings that would illustrate patterns of language use characteristic of groups located throughout Kenya. He was not concerned to investigate under controlled conditions the validity of the hypotheses he advanced. Whiteley recognised the experimental limitations of the procedures adopted (cf. Language in Kenya, p.319) but he saw no alternative to employing these methods in fulfilling his brief in the time available.

The contributors referred to above and all contributors to the volumes who employed survey techniques to obtain correlational data were faced with the problems of obtaining representative samples in situations in which population-data were not generally available. In some cases, however, the problem was alleviated by the systematic use of existing census data.

One such study in which existing population data is utilized to provide information about patterns of language use is reported in Language in Ethiopa by Robert Cooper and associates. The study details aspects of language use in a number of urban areas in relation to various demographic variables including migration. In an analysis of surveys undertaken by the Ethiopian Central Statistical Office, they show that Amharic is a majority language in the largest number of towns in Ethiopia and a minority language in the smallest number of towns: they also show that in every province there are towns in which Amharic is either an intermediate or majority language. The data provides verification, therefore, of a degree of language shift to Amharic among urban non-Amharas.

The findings also indicate that the extent of migration can be shown to be systematically related to the proportion of members of a particular language group in small towns. The percentage of a language group that were migrants to the town was high when that group was a linguistic minority (1-25 per cent); intermediate when the language had an intermediate status (26-75 per cent); and low when the language group was in the majority (over 75 per cent).

The status of a language is also shown to relate to the relative distance of the town from places where the language was spoken in the rural area; majority languages were found in towns which were near rural areas where the language was spoken, and minority languages were found in towns which were distant from such rural areas.

These findings are not in themselves greatly significant. It is, however, significant that the data are interpreted in relation to previous studies conducted by Lieberson and others, that focused on urbanisation and language use. As presented, the data has general relevance to those concerned with such questions in Africa and elsewhere.

This last observation can also be applied to the account of the surveys undertaken in Kefa and Arusi provinces which permitted comparisons to be made between aspects of language use in urban and rural areas. The two interview teams made use of schedules designed to obtain information with respect to individual household members relating to sex, age, educational background, first language spoken (ethnicity) and proficiency in various languages. The results, which are clearly tabulated, indicate that linguistic heterogeneity is a characteristic of towns, and linguistic homogeneity of the rural areas; and whereas Amharic is important in the towns, both as a first and second language, Galla is important in the countryside in the areas surveyed. Amharic mother-tongue speakers are shown to be more likely to be bilingual if they live in the countryside, whereas Galla mother-tongue speakers are more likely to be bilingual if they live in the towns. For both groups, also, educational experience is a significant factor in promoting second-language acquisition although its significance is lessened by the general unavailability of educational facilities. With regard to second language distribution, the authors note that, in general, the greater the proportion for whom a given language is claimed as a mother-tongue, the greater the proportion of others for whom proficiency is claimed in it as a second language. They also note that the higher the proportion of a sample claiming a given language as mother-tongue, the smaller the percentage of bilinguals among the mother-tongue group. They suggest that this inverse relationship between the relative size of a mother-tongue group and the incidence of bilingualism, which has been remarked upon by other scholars, may represent a sociolinguistic universal.

As has been implied above, the contributions made by Robert Cooper to the Ethiopia Volume generally reflect a concern both to describe language use in Ethiopia and to take note of the more general implications of the findings. Similarily he brings data from other countries to bear on the interpretation of aspects of language use in Ethiopia.. In a short chapter on the spread of Amharic, Cooper argues that the language is spreading as a mother-tongue, as a linqua-franca, and as a superposed variety; and he uses the data available from Ethiopia and other states to make predictions with regard to the spread of Amharic. Other studies in other volumes make predictions with regard to the spread of language varieties, as for instance do Whiteley and Kashoki in the process of commentaries on language spread in Kenya and Zambia, but in so far as their comments are specific to the country concerned they are perhaps of less general relevance to scholars interested in isolating sociolinguistic universals than the study referred to here.

Three further studies in the Ethiopia Volume deal with aspects of language usage in three different contexts, viz. factories, markets, and the courts. The information sought in the interviews conducted with a randomly selected sample of workers in three factories was similar to that requested during the interviews conducted in Kafa and Arusi Provinces. Not unexpectedly, the findings indicate that even in a Galla mother-tongue area, the predominant language in the industrial work-sphere is Amharic. Most of the workers can speak it, and it is most frequently reported as used not only with supervisors but with fellow workers as well. In all mother-tongue groups, the proportion claiming the use of Galla with supervisors is smaller than the proportion claiming the use of Galla with fellow workers. The findings in the study can be related, though not directly, with the findings Parkin reported in the Kenya Volume concerning the use of Swahili as the main language of the workplace of heads of households in Bahati. Parkin makes the relevant observation that the norms of relationships based on differences or similarities of socio-economic status are most obviously advertised in the workplace,where - through the contractual relations characteristic of modern industrial life - notions of rank and authority receive their clearest expression.

Cooper and Susan Carpenter also undertook a survey of languages used in 23 Ethiopian markets. They were primarily interested to determine whether communication in the Ethiopian market place was mediated or facilitated by a lingua franca; they predicted that in the linguistically diverse Ethiopian context Amharic and Arabic would be prominent as media of communication for trade. They found, however, that transactions were facilitated by the multilingualism of the traders rather than by the emergence of a trade lingua franca.

The study is of general interest because of the observational technique used to record language performance. In successive observations in the same market, enumerators were asked to note the number of transactions carried on that involved the sale of items selected from an extensive list of commodities and services. For each market and each town, the proportion of transactions which were observed in each language was computed.

It is apparent that a variation of this observational technique could be used in other contexts in which goods and services are exchanged. It could also, as the authors remark, provide a means of relating self-reports on language usage and observed language usage of a group of subjects. In this connection, the authors report on the correlation between the language of market transactions in seven towns, and languages claimed by inhabitants who lived in the towns. The validity of a direct comparison is, however, questionable given the fact that the data relates to different samples.

In the Tanzania volume H.D. Barton reported on a case study of language use among residents of Ilala, a suburb of Dar Es Salaam. The study had a number of distinctive features. Self-report data on language use was gathered through interviews involving just under one per cent of the population of the area. The nature of the sampling-frame adopted is not specified but it is suggested that those interviewed were representative of the population of Ilala as defined by the 1967 census. The inhabitants of Ilala, which Barton designates as a 'lower-class' area, were found to be overwhelmingly immigrant - the bulk of the populations comprising representatives of 54 ethnic groups. The average length of residence in Dar Es Salaam was reported to be 4.42 years. One-third of the sample had received no education and 52 per cent had been educated at primary level. Approximately 70 per cent of the survey sample were Moslems.

221 residents of Ilala were asked a series of 82 questions about aspects of language use. (in many cases the responses clearly relate to potential rather than actual language use, e.g. the 200 responses to the question about the language in which essays/stories are written). Their responses were interpreted in relation to macro-factors such as religion, occupation, area of origin (coastal/non-coastal and rural/urban), education, and sex. Barton also noted how clusters of these factors interact with aspects of language use. The correlational data are not, however, displayed in such a way as to allow for secondary analysis.

Barton concluded that the findings in the Ilala study and in four small-scale studies conducted in other areas pointed to the fact that variations in linguistic repertoire could be related to the variables of home location, religion, sex and education. The general picture is shown to be one in which the use of Swahili is complementary to or is replacing vernacular language use to a greater or lesser degree depending on the social characteristics of the population: the rural, non-coastal, less-educated population tending to make less use of the language than do populations with other characteristics.

Barton also undertook a mail survey using a modified form of the questionnaire used in Ilala. The data analysis was based on 199 of the 265 completed questionnaires received - a return rate of 18 per cent. The questionnaire was sent to divisional rural-development officers and administered by them to division residents of their choosing. A further questionnaire, sent to medical officers, produced a return rate of under 10 per cent: the analysis being conducted on 34 returns. It is hardly necessary to make the point that survey data of such a nature is of limited utility to other scholars.

Mail surveys were shown to be a practicable source of data in some circumstances, though not in the instances referred to above. Also in the Tanzania Volume, Professor Polomé reported on a mail survey in which all parish priests and ministers heading a mission station in the major denominations were asked to participate. The return rate was adequate to ensure that the conclusions drawn from the survey had general validity. The same point can be made with reference to the mail survey conducted by Professor Whiteley in Kenya which requested information from respondents in all Catholic missions and a substantial number of Protestant mission stations. The results obtained are in several respects comparable, if not directly so, to the results of the survey of mission stations in Tanzania.

The mail surveys conducted by Whiteley and Polomé referred to above, provide one of the few instances in which data obtained on reported langauge use in a set of related social contexts is to some degree comparable across Surveys. The questionnaires administered to university students in Zambia and Ethiopia also allow for limited cross-national comparison. With hindsight, however, it seems regretable that the enquiries conducted among the students were not organised collaboratively to the extent that the respondents were asked a number of common questions. Given the organisational structure of the country studies, active collaboration between contributors to the Survey Volumes was not to be expected in most cases; but given also the fact that enquiries into aspects of language use in each country-study could not be other than superficial, or at least cursory, the advantage of focussing cross-nationally on language usage in specific contexts and among particular populations was not perhaps taken sufficient account of.

The contributions of D.J. Parkin to the Kenya Volume contrast in focus and approach with the studies discussed to this point. Parkin provides a detailed analysis and interpretation of processes of language adding and language shift in two Nairobi housing estates, and of language switching in a Nairobi marketplace. The four chapters he contributed embody the only sustained attempt made in the Survey Volumes to contribute to current sociolinguistic theory and, for this reason alone, the contributions call for detailed commentary.

In an initial chapter, Parkin outlines his theoretical stance and relates it to those adopted by two groups of social anthropologists whose contrasting approaches are exemplified in the work of Leach and Barth; the first approach being group-focussed and the second individual-focussed. He comments also on the apparently divergent approaches adopted by those sociolinguists whose theoretical orientation reflects an interactional as opposed to a correlational bias - an opposition which derives from the difficulty of attempting within the scope of the single analysis to focus both on group relations and on essentially dyadic relations.

The model Parkin utilises in depicting processes of language adding and substitution postulates that the processes under analysis are essentially political, in that language shift is a form of cultural shift and that cultural shifts occur in conjunction with changes in the economic and power relations of groups and collectivities. He recognises, of course, that most individual conversations are not directly determined by the prevailing political situation, but suggests that those that are constitute data which link the problems of language shift between groups and language switching between individuals. These Parkin terms transactional conversations; and his final chapter contains an analysis of seven such conversations. I will comment subsequently on this analysis.

As the basis for his second and third chapters, Parkin investigates the effects of two variables - ethnic affiliation and status-group membership - on the reported language use of residents in the two estates. The data was obtained in the first place by means of interviews carried out with 378 household heads in an estate (Bahati) in which ethnicity was not a salient factor and where the effect of status-group membership on language adding could therefore be examined in detail. Subsequently, household heads in Kaloleni, an ethnically-mixed estate, were interviewed.

It would not be appropriate to attempt to specify Parkin's findings in detail here except to say that information is provided about the respondents' knowledge of English, Swahili and other languages, and about the use of these languages in the context of the neighbourhood and workplace. Parkin controlled for such factors as age, education, income, length of residence in Nairobi and in the estate in question, and occupational status. Age, education, length of urban residence, and occupation emerge in both estates as significant factors in the study and description of language use in the workplace. The interaction within a neighbourhood, the residential area's ethnic composition and the degree of ethnic dispersal or concentration are shown to be additional significant factors. The association between socio-economic status and the proportionate use of English and Swahili is also demonstrated by each set of data.

Parkin's approach to the study of language use differs, therefore, from that adopted by other contributors in that it involves the systematic application of techniques associated with both correlational and interactional sociolinguistics; and in that it constitutes a deliberate attempt to develop a theoretical framework and a methodology that would serve to relate, if not to reconcile, the different approaches. The attempt has stimulated considerable discussion which has tended to focus on Parkin's analysis of 'transactional conversations'. Parkin argues in his final chapter, that the conversations he noted in a Nairobi marketplace serve to reveal fundamental ethnic and socioeconomic status-values which attach to the use of languages in Nairobi. He suggests that English and Swahili invoke status stereotypes and that the vernacular languages, by definition, invoke ethnic stereotypes; and that these stereotypes relate to and manifest two sets of basic values in relation to which inter-personal adjustments or transactions in conversations can be interpreted.

Parkin's analysis of seven brief interactions in which code-switching occurs has been criticised on the grounds that most studies involving participant-observation of conversational interaction can be criticised, viz. that the analysis of the short conversations involves a degree of subjectivity that makes generalisation from the data problematic. His analysis has also been rightly and more pertinently challenged on the grounds that his explanation of the transactional process relies on features specific to the interaction, i.e. micro-factors. In a review that focussed on Parkin's findings and extended them, Carol Scotton argued that language choices may be, as Parkin suggests, devices which are strategically manipulated by speakers at will; but she argued further that societal norms give meaning to the choices made; and she suggested that shared norms mediate choices to make them possible to anticipate and that they also determine how the outcome of a linguistic choice is interpreted. Dr. Scotton's subsequent application of the concept of marked and unmarked features to language choice - markedness itself being a phenomena that can only be interpreted with reference to social norms - indicates one way in which Parkin's proposals can be related more directly than is the case in the Survey Volume to current theoretical developments in sociolinguistics.

There is no question that Parkin's interpretation of the data he gathered constitutes a significant contribution to current theory and the evidence he presents about reported language use within the restricted population he was concerned with has undoubted predictive value; but for the very reasons that his observations are of value and interest to scholars, they are likely to be of little direct interest to such local administrators and policy-makers as might be in a position to make practical use of findings of the Surveys.

IV

Such local policy-makers as read the volumes would be likely to find the contributions made with general reference to Language in Education of more immediate relevance than many of the studies relating to other general topics. Contributions made under this heading had, for the most part, a more practical orientation and intent than those included in other sections. The information provided about language policies and language teaching is, however, generally of a more emphemeral nature than information given elsewhere in the volumes, in that it tends to relate to circumstances and policies that are in certain respects transient.

This last observation is not directly applicable to those contributions that deal with the historical background to current practice or with the development of language policies. The chapters in the Tanzania manuscript on the development of language policies in Tanzania during the period of German Colonial rule, written by Ann Brumfit, constitute a significant scholarly contribution; (whether a contribution of such length and scholarship would be appropriately published in the Survey Volume, which is still in the process of compilation, is not for me to say, particularly as my own contribution on the development of education language policies in Kenya goes near to matching that of Mrs Brumfit in length.) The practical utility of such historical surveys has, however, been questioned. I consider the inclusion of a policy study in the Kenya Volume to be justified as, in effect, it comprised an analysis of policies adopted prior to the conduct of the survey, and thus provided a basis for determining the reasons for the success or failure of policies adopted in circumstances similar in significant respects to those under review at the time of the survey. Policies adopted in the past can moreover be subjected to more trenchant analysis than is generally possible or desirable with contemporary policies about whose success or failure evidence is, in any case, not always available. The historical evidence provided clear instances, for example, of the fact that previous attempts to conduct primary education through the medium of a variety of mother-tongues had failed signally because of the insufficient attention that had been given to the need to provide adequate materials in standardised orthographies for use by trained teachers.

Each of the Survey Volumes contains one or more chapters in which analysis of the problems entailed in current teaching of indigenous languages is made. Considered as a whole, the contributions on language teaching by Walusimbi (Uganda) Gorman and Hemphill (Kenya), Shewaye and Taylor (Ethiopia) and Fulgens Mbunda (Tanzania) provide an indication of the contemporary state of indigenous language teaching in Eastern Africa; and there is general agreement that in all five countries concerned there is much that needs to be done to improve this critically important activity. The problems commonly encountered are perhaps most clearly depicted in those chapters of the Zambia Volume written by Sirarpi Ohannession that report on instruction in the official language in Zambia, and on the attitudes of teachers in training to such instruction.

One of the problems that has to be taken account of in circumstances in which languages other than the first language of the children concerned are used as media of education is the fact that significant proportions of children in areas of linguistic heterogeneity will be obliged to be educated in a language with which they are not familiar. Relatively little research has been undertaken in Eastern Africa which relates to the extent of childrens' knowledge of the medium of education in languages other than English. In the Zambia Volume, Clasina de Gaay Fortman describes a project which had the aim of determining the extent to which a group of pupils were able to give oral responses to pictoral stimuli in Nyanja - a medium of instruction in Lusaka. Methodologically, the technique used to determine restricted aspects of oral competence is of interest. The author would, however, have benefited from the advice of a linguist with a knowledge of Town Nyanja in the interpretation and presentation of the research findings.

Two further studies are reported by Serpell and Glick in the Zambia and Uganda Volumes respectively, in which the authors attempted to determine the effect of a number of background variables on pupils' comprehension of the language of instruction. In the Zambia Volume, Serpell gives an account of a study in which the intention was to investigate the influence of five factors on the comprehension of Nyanja by Lusaka schoolchildren. These were: the home language; the level of education attained; the length of exposure to Nyanja; the socio-economic stratum within where this exposure took place; and the sex of the pupil. His findings, in brief, indicated that pupils' comprehension appears to be influenced by the degree of linguistic affinity between the first language of the pupils and the language of instructor, as well as by the amount of instruction they have received in school, and the degree of effective exposure to Nyanja in the pupils' residential environment.

In Uganda, Dr Glick undertook to characterise the reading achievement of a sample of primary school children and to relate this achievement to a number of sociolinguistic variables. A reading test in English and a vernacular language was taken by 1,560 pupils in Primary Seven classes in fifty eight schools. The resulting data were analysed using multiple and partial regression analysis. Nine variables were evaluated against individual scores in reading. These were:

whether the child's first langauge was the same as that used in school in Primary 1; whether the child went to a school where English was the medium of instruction in Primary 1; whether the father spoke English; whether the mother spoke English; whether English was spoken at home; when English was begun as a subject of instruction; the mobility of the pupil; the location of the school (urban/rural); and the pupil's stated aspirations.

Though there were individual variables which appeared to be significant through chi-square analysis or comparison of mean scores, the regression analysis indicated that the value of any one variable or combination of variables could not be used to predict individual success in reading English. Statistical evidence was, however, obtained that indicated that better trained teachers achieved better results in general, and that staff stability appeared to be a factor which affected the performance of children on the tests.

In the Kenya Volume, I reported on an experiment in which secondary school entrants in four urban and fourteen rural schools were given tests in English and Swahili. The results were interpreted with reference to eight variables: language group membership; urban/rural residence; age; sex; age of entry into primary school; initial medium of education; father's education; and a measure of socio-economic status. Performance in the English tests was not found to be significantly related to any of these variables, and in this respect the findings parallel, in part, those of Glick. Performance in the tests of Swahili was found to be significantly related to variables of sex, urban-rural residence, language group membership (in rural areas) and initial medium of education (in urban areas).

The general validity of these educational studies is lessened by the fact that in no case was it possible to employ standardised test instruments; and difficulties were encountered in each instance in obtaining accurate, or rather verifiable information about specific background variables. In each case, therefore, the results of the studies should be considered to be suggestive rather than authoritative.

In studies involving pupils in school, the problems encountered by the general lack of the data required to select representative samples can be met in part by adopting an approach in which the school stream rather than the individual child contributes the sampling unit. This approach was employed in the study I reported on in the Kenya Volume of language use among pupils in eight major language groups in Kenya in their first year in secondary school.

The sampling technique adopted in the successive surveys undertaken between 1968 and 1970 did not allow for generalisations to be made about the behaviour of all members of the respective year-groups, but it did provide an indication of certain consistently reported patterns of behaviour among secondary school entrants. The pupils concerned were asked initially to provide information about the facility with which they spoke, read, and wrote different languages. Additional information was obtained from teacher-ratings and the adminstration of cloze tests in English and Swahili that could be used to evaluate the accuracy of the pupils' self-ratings in the two languages. In the report on the study, I cite the results of the 1970 enquiry in which pupils' self-ratings of proficiency in Swahili were shown to be significantly correlated with their scores on a test of Swahili grammatical structure.

In the second survey of secondary school entrants, undertaken in 1969, a purposive sample of 27 schools were selected. The results of the second survey relating to reported patterns of language use in the home and in specified situations of interaction, such as involved writing to friends or listening to the radio, tend to confirm the trends indicated by the 1968 data. In both surveys, for example, the majority of pupils claimed to use English in writing to friends and claimed also to read newspapers most frequently in that language; but the majority of children in each language group, with the exception of the Luo-speaking children in the rural sample, claimed to listen to radio broadcasts in Swahili more frequently than to those in English or their mother-tongues.

In the final stage of the enquiry, which was completed in 1970, children in four classes in Nairobi and fourteen classes in rural areas completed a further questionnaire on language use which was designed to provide more detailed information about their exposure to and use of Swahili and English and their own and other vernaculars in specific situations of interaction and reception. The primary purpose of the 1970 enquiry was different from that of the earlier studies in that the focus of concern was the language proficiency of the children involved in terms of their ability to perform tasks involving the use of Swahili and English. The enquiry was thus advanced to a stage at which an attempt was made to consider not simply what languages were used by pupils in particular circumstances but how effectively these were used in tasks analogous to those that pupils were required to perform at school.

The type of 'cumulative' study referred to above, which allowed for the results of successive surveys to be related and in some cases aggregated, could not generally be undertaken by full-time members of the research teams whose work had to be completed in a relatively short time. In this and in numerous other cases, 'Type B' research projects supported by the Survey Council provided supplementary and complementary information to that provided by the teams.

In the Survey Volumes focussing on Ethiopia and Zambia, there is a discussion of literacy teaching activities in the section of the work relating to Language in Education. The contribution to the Zambia Volume by Mubanga Kashoki is candid and illuminating in its discussion of the difficulties that had to be taken account of during the development of the Adult Literacy Project. Kashoki's frankness is to be welcomed if only for the fact that, for evident reasons, a number of expatriate commentators on the state of language teaching in the various countries involved tended to understress some of the problems that result from current policy-decisions (D. Brown's article on English in the Primary School in the Tanzanian Volume is a notable exception to this generalisation). For equally evident but somewhat different reasons, East African contributors were, for the most part, equally tactful and tentative in their description of and commentary on educational policies adopted. However, despite the understandable tendency to underplay the effects of policies that either in their conception or implementation were open to question, the Survey Volumes, taken as a whole, present a comprehensive outline of the state of language teaching in schools in Eastern Africa.

V

In much of the commentary I have made up to this point, I have tended to focus attention on studies that provide empirical data that could, in my view, be utilised directly by other scholars or which, as is the case with Parkin's enquiry, contribute directly to the development of sociolinguistic theory. I would not wish, however, to appear to underestimate the value to other scholars of some of the less structured enquiries undertaken. In the Kenya Volume, for example, Barbara Neale's discussion of the languages of religion used in the Asian community is of exceptional interest in so far as it provides illustration of and perceptive commentary on the functional use of sacred languages within the community. The same is true of Datta's commentary on the subject of language use in the Asian community in Zambia. The discussion in the Ethiopian Volume by Haile Gabriel Dagne of the Church school and Quranic school systems in Ethiopia also contains information of great interest to those interested in the functional specialisation of languages of religion. None of these studies entailed the systematic use of correlational data but all involved systematic observation, the results of which are interpreted with insight.

It is not, indeed, possible in this review to do justice to the large number of contributors to the five volumes. Taken as a whole, the contributions unquestionably constitute the most extensive commentary on language-related topics currently available for any region. The published volumes will undoubtedly serve as a reference point for scholars involved in any future surveys in developing areas. I have made the point earlier, however, that it seems unlikely that they will, as works of reference, have a great deal of immediate utility in the short term to policy-makers and administrators in the countries concerned, even if such administrators had the opportunity or inclination to read through the volumes. With the partial exception of the Uganda volume, which differs from other volumes in length and to some degree in style, the research findings are not generally presented in a form that could be easily digested and interpreted by laymen.

I do not personally regard this as a failing on the part of the editors or of the members of the Survey Council who had oversight of the conduct of the country studies. The Survey Volumes became, in effect, repositories for the findings of the very numerous research projects generated by the activities of the Survey teams and the Survey organisation generally. No other Survey to my knowledge has resulted in such a plethora of ancillary research undertaken by contributors working on a voluntary basis in their own time. The contributions that resulted added greatly to the length and diversity of the Survey Volumes and, no doubt, to their eventual cost; but they also added greatly to the ultimate value of the compendia that have been published to the community of scholars within Eastern Africa and outside the region.

Total Type B Research and Development Grants by Country, Investigator, Topic, and amount, as of December 1, 1971

1. Research Grants

ETHIOPIA

Otto, D. E. Taken over by Hudson G.	The Variations in Spoken English used by Secondary School Teachers in Addis Ababa	35,000 Shillings 5,760
Kifle, Bergeno	Error Analysis of Amharic as used by Tigrigna Speakers	5,760
Alemayyehu, Moges	Collection and Analysis of Contemporary Geez Poetry	10,276
Alemayyehu, Moges	Analysis of Recorded Data and Field Observations on the Qene Instruction and Composition	19,600
Arega Haile Mikael	Etymological Dictionary of Secular and Ecclesiastical Titles used in Ethiopia	5,000
Getachew, Haile	A Study of Regional Variation in Amharic	7,008
Habte Mariam Marcos	A Study of the Varieties of Italian used in Ethiopia	7,616
Haile Gabriel Dagne	A Study of the Quran School System	3,413
King, M taken over by Langmuir, C.	The English Language Skills of Students and English Language Requirements of Instruction at HSIU	5,530
Madsen, H.S.	An Evaluation of ESLC English Language Tests	21,910
Brooks, K.G.	Amharic Word Frequency Count	12,448 14,800
Sergew Hable Sellassie	Early Inscriptions in Northern Ethiopia	Eth $ 872 1,680
Taddese, Mulat	A Study of Various Amharic Dialects as they appear in Ethiopian Folksongs	Eth $4,052
Bubbamo, Arficio	The Linguistic influence of Hadiyya Ethnic Groups	2,195

KENYA

Gorman, T.P.	Patterns of Language Use and Levels of Language Attainment among Children Entering Secondary School in Kenya	20,755 3,490
Hemphill, R.J.	The Effectiveness of the English-as-a-Second-Language Materials produced by the Curriculum Development and Research Centre	22,500

Itebete,P.A.N.	The History of Luluhya, with Particular Reference to its Role in Education and Social Life	19,400 Shilling
Bujra,J.M.	Language Loyalties within a Religious Community in Nairobi	15,900
Sharman,J.C.	A Comparative Linguistic Study of North Eastern Bantu in Kenya in the light of the Guthrie Hypothesis for Nuclear Bantu	18,200
Elderkin,E.D.	The Collection Processing and Publication of Phonological Grammatical and Lexical Data on the Marakwet and Sanye/Boni Languages	12,934
Yahya Ali Omar	The Collection and Annotation of Shairi Verse from the Kenya Coast	8,000 1,196
Claesson,A.	Levels of Proficiency in Swahili of a Representative group of Students Entering Secondary Schools in Kenya	2,850
Zawawi,S.M.	A sociolinguistic Study of Swahili Arabic Speaking Population of Mombasa	12,000
TANZANIA		
Whiteley,J.S.W.	The Measurement of Students Ability in English and their Achievement in Examinations at University College Dar es Salaam	18,930 3,059
Brumfit,E.A.	Language Policy in Tanganyika as related to the Spread of Swahili as a National Language	12,600
Mhina,G.	Writing a Swahili Grammar in KiSwahili for use in Secondary Schools	8,990
Chamungwana,W.M.S.	How much Swahili Standard One Entrants Really know	4,420
Abdulaziz,M.	The Development of Swahili as a National Language in the Post Independent Period	2,925
Lucas,S.A.	Utani: Sociolinguistic Analysis of a Traditional Social Network in Tanzania	11,800
Topan,F.	The Teaching of Swahili Poetry in Tanzanian Schools	2,850 942
Mlay,H.F.M. Mkindi D.W.	Language Switching of Multilinguals and Language Use in Public Places	4,250
Kavugha,D.O.	Language in Justice in Eastern Africa	8,470
Kassam,A.O.	The Linguistic System within the Asian Community in Tanzania	2,321
Watson,A.J.	The Development and Testing of a Pre-Reading Programme for Tanzanian Schools	5,790

Khamisi,A.M. taken over by Abdulla A.	The Languages used within Islam in Tanzania	2,712 Shillings
Higgins,J.J.	A Description of the Phonology of English Spoken by Tanzanian Secondary School Students	4,440
UGANDA		
Bowles,B.D.	The Relevance of Language to Political Conceptions in Uganda	1,600
Mazrui,A.A.	The English Language and Socio Political Change in East Africa	7,940
Mosha,M.	A Preliminary Contrastive Study of the Phonetics and Phonology of the Bantu Language of the Central and Western Regions of Uganda	7,900 7,900
Antonsen taken over by Scotton,C.M.M.	The Use of Swahili in Kampala	1,450
Brown,G.	Lugisu: Influence of Luganda English and Swahili on its variations by age groups in rural and urban areas; its role in the total communication network of Mbale Uganda	2,400
Galer,D.	Preparation of an Introductory Course in Spoken Luganda for English Speakers	4,500
Scotton,C.M.M.	A Study of the Linguistic Varieties of Swahili Spoken in Kampala and of Patterns of Receptivity of Varieties of Swahili	8,040 601
Maguire,V.	The Linguistic Interference of Lugbara on the Learning of English	4,000
Scotton,C.M.M.	The Effect of Language Contact on the Production of Ateso by Native Speakers in Several Areas of Eastern Uganda and a Survey of their Patterns of Language Use.	1,484
Scotton,C.M.M.	Patterns of Language Use in Several Tribally Mixed Social Groups in Kampala	650
ZAMBIA		
Lehmann,D.	Survey of the Languages and Dialects of the Kafue Basin	40,000
Fortman,I.de G.	Study of Oral Competence in Chinyanja among Children of Various Linguistic Backgrounds in Lusaka Primary Schools	9,680
Musonda,M.	A Study of Language Use by an Emerging Elite in a Multilingual Society	3,356
Serpell,R.	Mutual Intelligibility of Zambian Languages as a Function of Length and type of Exposure; A Study of ChiNyanja Comprehension by Urban	

	School Children of Various Linguistic and Socio-Economic Backgrounds at Two Levels of Education	7,050	Shillings
O'Brien,D.	A Reference Grammar of Tonga	11,800	
Van Velsen,J.	A Pilot Study of Languages in Industry in Zambia	6,660	
Bond,W.M.	A Survey of the Reading Habits of 800 School Children in Grade VI to Form II in 20 Schools in the Lusaka Area	750	

2. Development Grants

ETHIOPIA			
	Support for Language Studies group of Ethiopia	3,188 1,200	Shillings
KENYA			
Hemphill,R.J. Chandley,J.	Conference on the Teaching of English in African Lower Primary Schools	10,584	
Gorman,T.P.	Workshop and In Service Course on the Teaching of kiSwahili at Secondary Level	2,102	
	Support for Kenya Language Association	650 1,200 8,400	
TANZANIA			
	Support for Language Association of Tanzania	1,860 1,200	
Woodhead,J.L.	Purchase of a Tape Recorder and Tapes for Dept. of Language and Linguistics Dar es Salaam	2,666	
Brumfit,C.J.	Support for a Central Conference of Tanzania English Language Teachers' Association	3,360	
Topan,F.M. Mhina,G.	Workshop for Collecting and Analysing Swahili Teaching Materials	25,446	
UGANDA			
Scotton,C.M.M.	The Use of Native Speakers of African Languages in Classes and the Organization of Seminars on Ugandan Languages	4,000	
	Support for Uganda Language Association	2,000	
Zirimu,P.	Support for Conference on the Status and Role of Ugandan Languages in National Education and Development	8,578	
ZAMBIA			
	Support for Zambia Language Group	1,200 1,200 1,200	
Clarke,P.H.C.	Seminar on Literature in Schools	1,450	

SURVEY FELLOWSHIPS AS OF 9/15/1972

ame	Country	Place of Study	Aim	Dates of Fellowship	Amount Spent
Taddese Beyne	Ethiopia	Georgetown	Ph.D. Linguistics	1968-70	$ 6,686.00
aroline Walter	Kenya	Dar es Salaam	B.Phil., Swahili & Linguistics	1968-70	5,021.45
elix Kaumbutho	Kenya	UCLA	TESL Certificate B.A. Linguistics	1968-69	5,929.58
ucia Odera	Kenya	Edinburgh	Diploma in Applied Linguistics	1968-70	3,313.66
nas Admasu	Ethiopia	UCLA	TESL Certificate M.A. in TESL	1968-70	10,744.52
Livingstone Walusimbi	Uganda	UCLA	TESL Certificate Ph.D. Linguistics	1968-71	23,274.40
chael Sale	Zambia	Sorbonne	Certificat de Ling. Generale	1969-70	3,771.97
Ali Farsi	Tanzania	Texas	Teaching Assistanship	1969-72	1,611.45*
sfaye Shewaye	Ethiopia	UCLA	TESL Certificate M.A. in TESL	1969-71	11,313.00
ud Bashir	Kenya	Nairobi	B.Phil. Applied Linguistics	1970-71	1,423.80
M. Stephen Simukonda	Zambia	UCLA		1970	2,530.18
ephen P.C. Moyo	Zambia	UCLA	M.A. Linguistics	1970-72	12,083.65
Assefa Cabre-Mariam	Ethiopia	Edinburgh		1970-71	2,749.57
U sus Turuka	Tanzania	Edinburgh	Diploma of Applied Linguistics	1970-71	3,663.26
A ert Kariuki	Kenya	UCLA	M.A. in TESL	1971-72	6,035.14
A.G.J. Claessen	Kenya	SOAS	M.A. in Swahili	1971-72	1,030.14
					$101,181.77
llowship supplements approved after September 1972					3,696.00
Totals					$104,877.77

*ncludes $1630 for Farsi ($880) and Moyo ($750) return home

Sc rce: Terminal Report from UCLA